

*Ùa Pou: aspects of a
Marquesan dialect*

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Ùa Pou: aspects of a Marquesan dialect

Margaret Mutu with Ben Teikitutoua



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Preface

This work originated as a doctoral thesis in Maori Studies and Linguistics, completed in the Maori Studies Department of the University of Auckland, New Zealand, in 1990. My supervisor, Bruce Biggs, provided me with tapes, field notes and published texts of the Marquesan language which he had collected in the 1960s in Hawai'i and Tahiti, and suggested that I attempt a description of aspects of that language.

Part way through the study, and with the assistance of Jacques Denis Drollet in Tahiti, I made contact with Ben Teikitoutoua in Hakahau Valley on Ūa Pou. Ben, a schoolteacher and Vice President of l'Association Motu Haka o Te Henua Ēnana, indicated that there was a strong wish among the *ēnana* or indigenous people of Te Henua Ēnana (the Marquesas Is) to maintain their own language and not have it replaced by either Tahitian or French or both. To this end they were actively developing programmes for teaching the language in primary schools. Having a grammar available would allow both teachers and children to study their language more effectively in school.

In 1987, with the assistance of the University of Auckland Research Committee, Ben and his wife, Rosita, came to Auckland and spent two months with me and my family. During their stay, Ben spent many hours teaching me his language and meticulously correcting the data in my initial drafts. Rosita also supplied many examples including songs. They both gave their approval and that of the people of Ūa Pou for the study to proceed.

Then in 1994 I visited Ben and Rosita on Ūa Pou and met a large number of people who were very interested in this study. After we established, through our very similar and obviously linked oral traditions, the most likely connection between the people of Ūa Pou and my own people of the Far North of New Zealand,¹ a large number of meetings were set up

¹ The oral traditions of Māori of the Far North of Aotearoa (and many other parts of the country) record their ancestors first arriving many, many generations ago on ocean-going *waka* (canoes) from a far distant place known as Hawaiki. The traditions also record that the ancestors regularly returned to Hawaiki on the same, or readzed *waka*, most often to send other relations to join those in Aotearoa, or to enable them to die in the place of their birth.

Ūa Pou tradition records ten double-hulled ocean-going *waka* leaving Ūa Pou for Aotearoa. In the middle of the night they were passing between Huahine and Raiatea when one overturned and sank. Another stayed at Huahine. The rest came on to Aotearoa.

Within a day of arriving in New Zealand, Ben explained to me why he considered that his ancestors had named it Aotearoa. He said that to him, Aotearoa did not mean 'land of the long white cloud' as customarily held here, or necessarily 'long daylight' as suggested by Biggs (1996:7). Rather it meant the land of the long dawning, given that dawn (*ao tea* in Marquesan) is many times longer in Aotearoa than the few minutes of dawn in Te Henua Ēnana.

for me to discuss this study and many other matters pertaining to the Ûa Pou dialect and culture with both school students and adults.

In particular the President of the Motu Haka Association, Toti (Georges) Teikiehuupoko,² very generously gave me samples of his own extensive work on the grammar of the Ûa Pou dialect to include in the publication of the study as and how I saw fit. As the work of a native speaker describing his own language it is very valuable material, highlighting, as it does, several important matters which I had overlooked and clarifying many others. He, as well as the people of Ûa Pou, then gave their blessing for me to publish the results of the study, asking only that it adhere to the orthography set down by the Motu Haka Association³ and taught in schools, and that at some stage it also be translated into French. The first of these conditions has been met here:

- Long vowels are indicated by macrons.
e.g. *hetū* 'star' [hetu:]
- Glottal stop is indicated by a grave accent on the following vowel.
e.g. *haè* 'house' [haʔe]
- A long vowel preceded by a glottal stop is indicated by a circumflex accent on the vowel.
e.g. *âkau* 'tree' [ʔa:kau]
- A glottal stop between like vowels is indicated by a double vowel.
e.g. *hee* 'go' [heʔe]

The second condition will be met as soon as possible, with the assistance of the French Department at the University of Auckland and a research grant.

I am greatly indebted to all these people and acknowledge and thank you all. However, any errors and misinterpretations that remain are mine alone.

I would also like to acknowledge the many people in Hawai'i, Canberra and Aotearoa/New Zealand who provided advice and support during this study. While I was studying at the East-West Center and the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, there was Lilikala Kame'eleihiva, Jack Wards, Larry Kimura, Emily Hawkins, Stan Starosta, Sam Elbert, Ngahua Te Awekotuku and Ray Harlow. At The Australian National University, where I took time out to revise and prepare this work for publication, my thanks to Andrew Pawley, Malcolm Ross, John Bowden, Lea Brown and Basil Wilson. At home, particular thanks go to Bruce Biggs, Andrew Pawley, Ross Clark, Frank Lichtenberk, Robin Hooper, Tony Hooper, Hugh Kawharu, Ranganui Walker, Jane McRae, Ann Salmond, Pat Hohepa, Deanne Wilson, Rangimarie Rawiri, Roberta Wilson, Merekaraka Gillman, Arapera Ngaha, Ngapare Hopa and Dorothy Brown of the University of Auckland, and all my *whānau* and *hapū*, for

² Toti's father was a major contributor to the Lavondès *Récits Marquisiens* recordings of Marquesan oral traditions.

³ A detailed explanation of this orthography with many examples is provided in Teikiehuupoko (n.d.b). However, use of the orthography is not always adhered to and, like the controversies that have raged elsewhere in Polynesia over this matter (see, for example, Biggs 1986 for Māori, Sperlich 2000 for Niue, Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992 for Samoan), there has been debate and, at times, confusion over the orthography. For Marquesan this has been evident, for example, in several publications in the *Bulletins de la Société des Études Océaniques* (see Teikiehuupoko & Candelot 1995; Dordillon 1995; Lavondès 1996; and Riley 1996) as well as Dumond-Fillon (1996).

supporting me during the study and allowing me to take time off from my many other duties, particularly our fishing and land claims against the Crown, in order to finish this work. Many have now passed away. *E te matua, e Bruce, ko koe te poutokomanawa o te mātauranga Māori i roto i ngā whare wānanga pākehā; e te matua, Makari, nāu anō ahau i manaaki, i tiaki, i tautoko i ngā akoranga katoa o te Ao Māori; e te matua, e Te Wirihana me ō tamariki mokopuna me ngā tini whanaunga kua mene atu ki te pō, koutou ko Kane, ko Hana, ko Hone, ko Moana, ko Tame, ko Wiremu mā, ko Māori mā, me ngā whaea, e Ata, koutou ko Taimihinga, ko Waerete mā, haere, e ngā mate, haere. Hoki atu ki Hawaiki nui, ki Hawaiki roa, ki Hawaiki pāmamao, ki te Hono-i-Wairua, te kāinga tūturu mo tātou, mo te tangata. Kāti mo koutou.*

E tekao hakavaa — A watch cry

*È te tama o te Moana Nui o Kiva,
e tekao hakavaa tēnei ia koe.
Ò koe mei te ekeia oumati.
Ò koe mei te kaōia oumati.
Te tama mei Havaiki,
mei Te Aoteaōa o te Āki,
mei Tahitinui,
mei Te Henua Ēnana,
mei Te Moana o Kiva,
mei Tokaau,
mei Āōtoka.
Te tama Maoi e, Kaōhanui koe.
Ā vaa, ā vaa, ā vaa,
è te tama Maoi.
Īa kite tō mata
i te henua tupuna,
īa kite too mata i te tau mouka,
i te tau tuaivi,
i te henua tomīia te pito tapu
o te Motua Maoi.
Ā vaa, ā vaa, ā vaa,
è te tama Maoi.
Īa tekao koe me te manu,
īa tekao koe me te ākau,
me te èpo,
me te vai,
me te tai,
me te āki,
me te mea paotū o te Henua,
me te tau tupuna i na pō kākiu.
Ā maō, ā maō, ā maō!
Te manu ūe hakakite ēnā
te ua me te metaki oko.*

To the son of the Great Ocean of Kiwa,
this is a message to you.
You are from the sunrise (east).
You are from the sunset (west).
The son from Havaiki,
from the Long-Dawning-of-the-Sky (New Zealand),
from Tahiti,
from the Land of Men (Marquesas),
from the Ocean of Kiva (Pacific Ocean),
from Tokerau (northeast),
from Rarotonga.
O son of these lands (Māori), greetings.
Wake up, wake up, wake up,
o Māori boy.
That your eyes will see
the ancestral lands,
that your eyes will see the mountains,
the hills,
the land where the sacred umbilical cord
of the Māori ancestor was placed.
Awake, awake, awake,
o Māori boy.
That you may converse with the birds,
that you may converse with the trees,
and the ground,
and the waters,
and the sea,
and the sky,
and everything in the world,
and the ancestors from times gone by.
Get up, get up, get up!
The crying bird signals
the rain and strong winds.

Te paàoa hiti iò he metaki
tiu-tokoàu
ēnā te tai oko.
Pau à hua, è te papa avaiki.
Te mei hou,
ù hānau te manu ì te mama.
à pua tēā ketae,
à kai te vipuāke,
E vai aa, e vai aa,
e vai aa te nui à hakatuu.
À vaa, à vaa, e tama Maoi.
Umoì e tuuhaè ia koe
te hakaatu hana a te tupuna.
E vai nei, e vai aa, e vai ananu
tēia hakaatu, tēia hakaatu.
À tiòhi me tō koe kuhane
ì te tai.
À tiòhi me tō koe kuhane
ì te vai.
À tiòhi me too koe kuhane
ì te àki.
À hee tō maakau
ma he Moananui a Kiva,
me he tau manu e ùmihi ana
i te kai me te henua.
À vaa, à vaa, e te tama Maoi.
À hee, à hee, à hee ì mua.

The dolphin coming through the wind from
 the southwest
 signals rough seas.
 Go home, you fishermen.
 The new breadfruit,
 the bird just emerging from the egg.
 When the ketae (tree) blooms,
 the vipuake (fish) are feeding.
 There are many other aspects
 and many different indicators.
 Awake, awake, Māori boy.
 Don't forget
 to uphold the ways of the ancestors.
 You have them today, tomorrow, and forever
 for each and every aspect.
 Look with your spirit
 to the sea.
 Look with your spirit
 to the waters.
 Look with your spirit
 to the sky.
 Let your thoughts travel
 Kiva's Great Ocean,
 like birds searching
 for food and land.
 Awake, awake, o Māori boy.
 Go, go, go forward to the future.

Ben Teikitutoua

Abbreviations

1 Textual sources

Examples throughout this volume were either provided by Ben and Rosita Teikitutoua, in which case no reference is provided, by Toti Teikiehuupoko (TT) or taken from Henri Lavondès' series of stories *Récits Marquisiens* and two other textual sources. Where examples in this volume were taken from the textual sources, they are cited by abbreviated title, page and line number. The abbreviated titles are as follows:

- LVD Lavondès, Henri, 1964, *Récits Marquisiens – dits par Keheuinui*.
LV2 Lavondès, Henri, 1966, *Récits Marquisiens 2ème serie – dits par Varii, Keheuinui, Pouau, Totio, Tahiahuipoko*.
LV3 Lavondès, Henri, n.d., Various unpublished manuscripts of transcriptions of stories, life histories, interviews etc.
DLN Dordillon, René Ildéfonse, 1931, *Grammaire et Dictionnaire de la Langue des Iles Marquises*.
TUA 'Tuapuu' as told by Tahia Kimi (collected by Bruce Biggs n.d.).

The stories in the Lavondès collection are from Ûa Pou. Dordillon does not give the source of his examples.

See the References for more details of the above textual sources.

2 Gloss abbreviations

AG	agent	DP	dual/paucal
APH	anaphoric	DU	dual
CAUS	causative	ENG	English
COMP	complement	EXC	exclusive
CON	conditional	FOC	focus
CONT	continuous	FR	French
DEF	definite article	IMP	imperative
DES	desiderative	IMPF	imperfective
DIM	diminutive	IN	inceptive
DIR	directional	INC	inclusive
DN	derived noun	INDEF	indefinite article
DO	direct object	INT	intensifier

IP	immediate past	POSS	possessive particle
LOC	locative	PREP	preposition
MNR	manner particle	PS	personal article
NEG	negative	PURP	purposive
NOM	nominative	REDUP	reduplicated
NP	non-past	REF	reflexive
OP	optional	SG	singular
PASS	passive	STATAG	stative agent
PCL	paucal	V	verb
PFV	perfective	VOC	vocative
PL	plural		

3 Symbols

"	phrase stress	'	syllable stress
:	lengthened/double (vowel)	::	extra lengthened (vowel)
::	extended (vowel)	.	syllable boundary
/	phonemic representation	+	plus juncture
//	non-final juncture	#	final juncture

1 *Introduction*

1.1 Background

The Ûa Pou dialect of the Marquesan language is spoken on the island of Ûa Pou in Te Henua Ònana (the Marquesas group of islands). The group is made up of eleven islands which lie in the South Pacific between 8 to 10 degrees south of the equator and 138 to 142 degrees west of Greenwich (see Map 1). They lie 1500 km to the northeast of Tahiti and 900 km northeast of the Tuamotu Archipelago and, politically, form part of French Polynesia (see Map 2).

Six of the eleven islands are inhabited; Ûa Pou, Hiva Òa, Nuku Hiva, Fatu Hiva, Tahuata and Ûa Huka. The total population of the islands is approximately 8000, that of Ûa Pou just over 2000.¹ Throughout the islands 95% of the population are the indigenous *ònana* and they speak *te èò ònana* (the Marquesan language).²

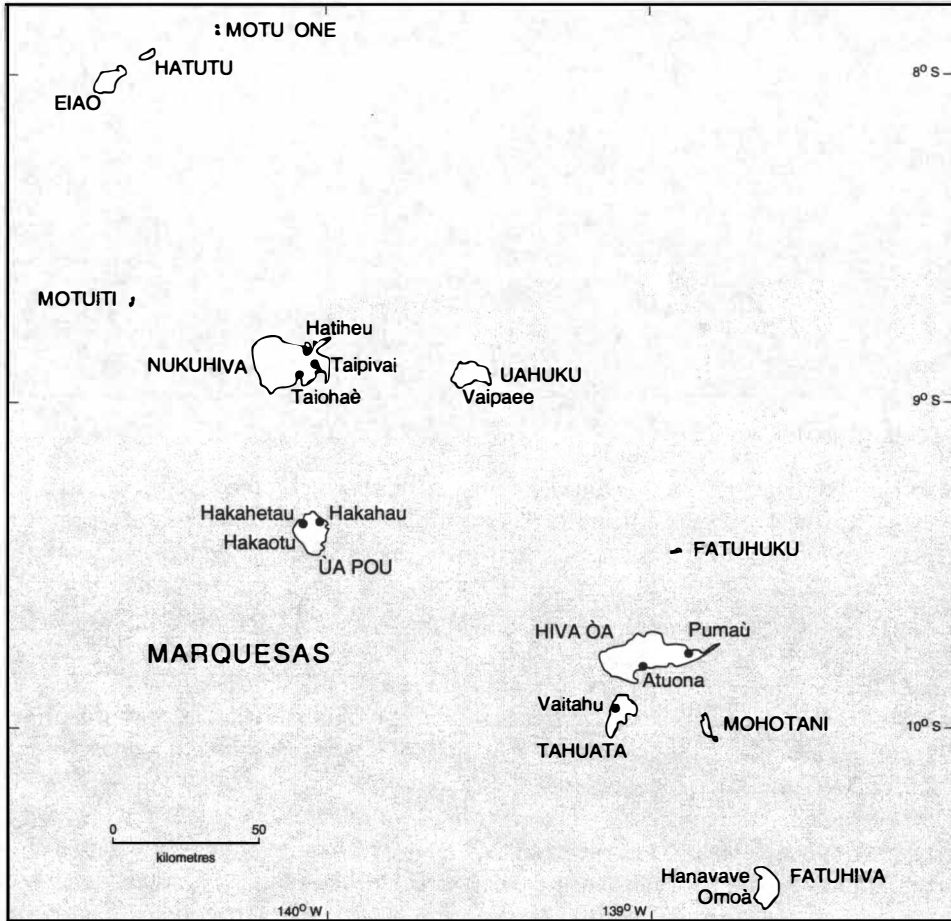
However the official language is French, which until very recently was the only language used in schools. Television, radio broadcasts and the ubiquitous videos are almost all in French and in 1994 there was growing concern among Marquesans that their children were learning French before they learnt Marquesan.³ Some Tahitian can also be heard in broadcasts although Tahitian is not well understood by most Marquesans (Copland & Copland 1979). Attempts to introduce it in schools throughout French Polynesia in the late 1970s as the Polynesian language for the territory were unsuccessful in the Marquesas.

¹ Kohumoetini (1996:271)

² Statistical data and information on the official language and language use was supplied by the Subdivision Administrative des Iles Marqueses.

³ J. Dordillon (1995:80) reported on the Marquesan language competency of three classes of nine-to-ten-year-olds he was teaching Marquesan in 1993–94 in Hakahau valley, Ûa Pou. Each class had twenty-four pupils and Marquesan was the first language for approximately 85% of them. For the remainder it was either Tahitian or French. Dordillon reports some difficulties with using old legends as teaching materials for Marquesan, especially given that the children were not generally used to reading their first language, and that many words in the legends were not in common use (especially amongst children, which is to be expected).

This report is somewhat at odds with that of Riley's (1996:60) sobering article on possible language loss in the Marquesas in which she states '... la plupart des enfants de moins de quinze ans habitant dans les trois plus grandes agglomérations [which includes Hakahau] ne sont pas capables de parler marquisien et peuvent tout juste le comprendre de façon passive. D'autres enfants, qui ont moins de 10 ans et habitent dans des vallées plus retirées, ne parlent ou ne comprennent pas correctement quand on s'adresse à eux en marquisien'.



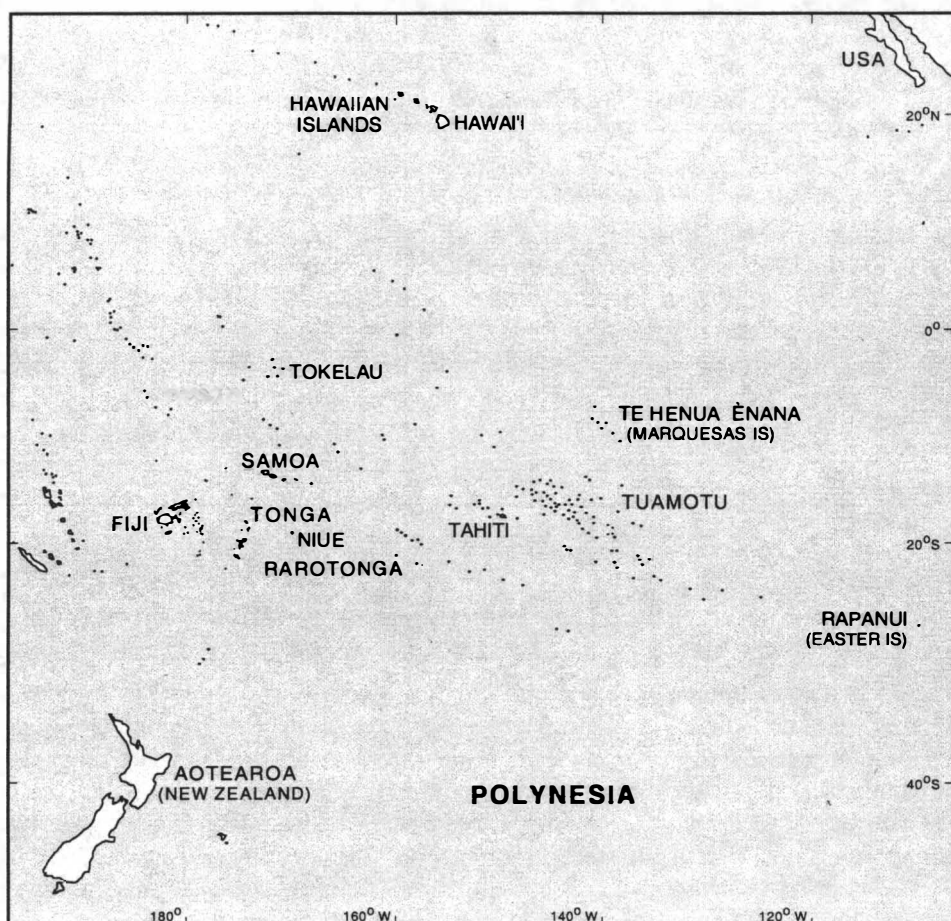
Map 1: Te Henua Ēnana (The Marquesas Islands)

In 1978 the Motu Haka o Te Henua Ēnana Association⁴ was set up by Marquesans to ensure the preservation of the Marquesan language, culture and the islands themselves. It received official recognition from the French Polynesian government in 1979 and has taken on the responsibility of ensuring that a syllabus setting out teaching programmes for the dialect of each island is implemented in schools. Its initial task, which is now well implemented in schools, was to provide a standard (phonemic) orthography for the language. By 1994, although French was still the main medium of instruction, two classroom hours a week were being dedicated to the teaching and learning of Marquesan in the schools on Ūa Pou, and school children and older students at least (13 years and older) were, from my observations, conversing in Marquesan outside their classrooms and the school.⁵

⁴ *Bulletin de l'Association Motu Haka o Te Henua Ēnana* 1987, p.45.

⁵ My observations on Ūa Pou in 1994 are consistent with those of J. Dordillon made at about the same time (see Dordillon 1996) but very different from those of Riley (mainly on Nuku Hiva) in 1992–93 (see Riley 1996).

Marquesan is an Eastern Polynesian language whose nearest relations according to present subgrouping theory are Hawaiian and Mangarevan. The literature lists two major dialects referred to as northern and southern,⁶ although there are dialect differences from island to island and also, to a much lesser degree, from valley to valley on individual islands. While all dialects within the group are mutually intelligible,⁷ there are grammatical as well as phonological and lexical differences between the dialects. The data for this study was taken from the Ūa Pou dialect and as such is a partial description of that dialect only.



Map 2: Polynesia

⁶ See Lavondès and Randall (1978) and Tryon (1987) for details of phonological differences between dialects.

⁷ Green (1966) listed the two main dialects as two different languages. However speakers of the two regard them as dialects.

1.2 Previous work

There has been quite a lot of work published in or about Marquesan in the past 200 years, although not a great deal has appeared in the last fifty. No linguistic data comes to us from the visit of the first Europeans in 1595. The first dictionary of Marquesan was actually compiled in 1799 by an English missionary, William Crook, assisted by Samuel Greathed and Temouteitei. However, it was not published until 1953, when it was included in the appendix to Sheahan's *Marquesan Source Materials*. It was published again in 1998 (Hughes and Fischer, eds 1998).

Several word lists, including those collected during James Cook's voyages to the Marquesas, were published from 1797 onwards. Dordillon's dictionary in its 1904 and 1931 editions incorporated words from several of these lists, particularly Darling's 1834, Fréchou's 1844 and Pinart's 1891 dictionaries. Extensive word lists in specialised areas have also appeared since the publication of Dordillon's dictionary, for example shellfish and fish names (Lavondès, Richard & Salvat 1973 and Lavondès & Randall 1978 respectively), fishing terminology (Handy 1923), sex terms (Suggs 1966), and tattooing (Willowdean Handy 1922). In 1997 Bishop Hervé-Marie Le Cléac'h, who spent many years on Ûa Pou, published a Marquesan–French lexicon *Pona Tekao Tapapa 'Ia: lexique marquisien–française*.

Many texts in Marquesan were produced by various missionaries, the first in 1826. These were either Christian religious texts or school lesson books. However, this century Handy, Elbert, Lawson and others have collected and published traditional stories and songs. The Lavondès collection of legends, life histories and accounts, part of which was published in *Récits Marquisiens* in 1964 and 1966, is still the most comprehensive collection of written Marquesan. Further accounts have been published in the *Bulletins de la Société des Études Océaniennes* (Lavondès 1996).

The first grammar of Marquesan was included in the English missionary William Crook's 1799 dictionary. He had spent eighteen months in the islands and took a young islander, Temouteitei, back to England with him to help him write the grammar and dictionary. Several other short grammars were attempted by, for example, Buschmann in 1843, Gracia in the same year and Gaussin in 1853. Each of these also dealt with Tahitian grammar. In 1857 Dordillon's 'Essai de la Grammaire de la Langue des Iles Marquises' appeared. It appeared again in an edited form in the first edition (1904) of Dordillon's dictionary but reappeared in its original 1857 form in the second (1931) edition of the dictionary. Handy, in 1930, and Elbert, in 1941, made some comments on Marquesan phonology, and Lavondès and Randall, in 1978, gave a detailed account of dialect differences; but until 1987, Dordillon's 1857 grammar was the most comprehensive grammar available. With the establishment of the Motu Haka Association, the Catholic Church commissioned Father François Zewen to write an introduction to the Nuku Hiva dialect, mainly as an aid for visiting French teachers and government officials. In 1987 he published *Introduction à la langue des îles Marquises: le parler de Nuku Hiva*. Evidence of grammatical differences between the Nuku Hiva and Ûa Pou dialects became apparent on comparing my Ûa Pou data with that given by Zewen. Duro (Jean-Marius) Raapoto, who worked closely with Toti Teikiehuupoko, included a chapter entitled 'L'accent prosodique du *eo enata*, *reo maóhi* des îles Marquises' in his 1994 doctoral thesis 'La quantité vocalique en *reo maóhi* des îles de la Société (tahitien)'. Rémy Dumond-Fillon also completed a thesis on the grammar of the

Nuku Hiva dialect entitled 'Éléments de grammaire fonctionnelle du marquisien — parler de Nuku Hiva' in 1992.

1.3 The aim of this study

The aim of this study is to provide the following:

1. An overview of the work carried out in the field of Polynesian phonology and syntax in the past thirty years
2. A description of the phonemes and certain suprasegmental features of the sound system of Ûa Pou
3. A detailed description of the internal structure of the Ûa Pou phrase.

An overview of Polynesian linguistic description highlights the fact that very little detailed work has been done on the phonology of Polynesian languages. Thus it could well be that the feature of penultimate vowel extension which I have described as 'peculiarly Marquesan', does occur elsewhere in Polynesia, but has yet to be described.

However, considerably more work has been done in the field of syntax. The overview concentrates on the work on individual languages carried out since formal descriptions of the syntax – that is, descriptions which give explicit statements about the possible combinations of linguistic units of Polynesian languages – were first written in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Shifts in theoretical orientations, particularly in the United States of America, were reflected in Polynesian syntactic description. Initially, formal descriptions used item and arrangement type models, but, under the influence of Chomsky, Postal and others, descriptions started drawing from item and process models, with their writers often very critical of the earlier model. However, neither was wholly adequate by itself and it was the earlier model that was adapted to counter the criticism of transformational-generativists.

It was never argued that the modified item and arrangement model could be used to describe any more than just the internal structure of the phrase in Polynesian languages. Other models have to be utilised to describe simple and complex sentence structure, and several have been tested.

While there has been much debate on the topic of phrase structure in Polynesian languages, and acceptance of Bruce Biggs's modified item and arrangement model is fairly widespread, the debate on Polynesian syntax is ongoing and work on discourse analysis has only just begun.

In the phonology chapter, each of the fifteen phonemes and their allophones are described. Particular attention is drawn to the glottal stop, which has at least two allophones, one of which is not a stop at all.

Each of the five vowels has a similar allophonic range to the vowels of other Eastern Polynesian languages, with the occurrence of a particular allophone depending on the length of the vowel, and, if short, on whether or not it is in close transition with another vowel. Long vowels are interpreted as geminate clusters of like vowels.

In recent phonological descriptions the use of junctural phonemes has been avoided and writers have been critical of them as 'a methodological ploy for keeping levels separate' (Lass 1984:37). However, for Ûa Pou, the occurrence of certain suprasegmental features cannot be predicted without reference to the phonological endpoints of morphemes, phrases and sentences. This applies to two features in particular: the peculiarly Marquesan feature of

vowel extension, which occurs only on the vowel penultimate to final or non-final juncture; and some instances of syllable stress, which cannot be predicted without reference to plus juncture.

The approach to the description of the phrase in this study is based on Biggs's (1971:470–476) modified item and arrangement model, although it differs in that it still describes the postposed peripheries of NPs and VPs separately, even though they are similar in many respects. The description is essentially different from previous descriptions in that it takes up the point first made by Pawley and then spelt out more fully by Sharples (1968) and then also by Biggs, that the functions of grammatical particles in a phrase fall into two distinct categories: those which modify the base they accompany (and are termed centripetal) and those which relate the phrase as a whole to other parts of the sentence or discourse (and are termed centrifugal). Such a distinction highlights the fact that a complete description of the structure of the phrase cannot be given without reference to the 'higher levels' of analysis, that is to simple and complex sentence structures.

While all the particles which occur in a phrase are listed and described in Chapters 4 to 7, particular attention is paid to the tense/aspect/mood system, which is marked by the verbal particles, and the various functions of noun phrases which are marked by the prepositions. The functions of *ai* are closely examined in relationship to the case system, and Chapin's influential paper on PPN **ai* is found very helpful, even though his Marquesan data is very questionable.

Certain aspects of the postposed periphery are interesting from a comparative viewpoint. In particular, the loss of *na* from the *nei*, *na*, *à* paradigm in the Ûa Pou dialect, even though it is still present in the Nuku Hiva dialect; the occurrence of the paradigm of *ana*- particles which occur only in Marquesan; and the loss of the directional meaning and function of *iho* and *aè* as particles.

2

An overview of theoretical orientations to Polynesian linguistic description

Although Polynesian syntax has received considerable attention since the late 1950s, Polynesian phonology is an area which has been largely neglected.¹ In this chapter I will briefly outline the work done in Polynesian phonology before considering, at some length, the theoretical developments which have taken place in the field of Polynesian syntax over the past thirty years.

2.1 Polynesian phonological description

To my knowledge there are only three works in the area of Polynesian phonology which attempt to describe word phonology in full; Kuki (1969) on Tuamotuan, Lemaitre (1972) on Tahitian and Raapoto (1994) on the Society islands (which includes work on Marquesan). The three works are of a similar nature and format. They include some sociolinguistic background information, proof of the phonemic status of the proposed segmental phonemes (provided by lists of minimal pairs), detailed phonetic descriptions of each of the phonemes and their distribution, and descriptions of the junctural phonemes, syllable structure and stress patterns. Lemaître also describes intonation patterns in Tahitian. Raapoto has extensive sections on the measurement of the length of Tahitian and Marquesan vowels.

Outlines of the phonologies of other Eastern Polynesian languages can be found in Biggs (1961), Hohepa (1967) and Bauer (1993) for Māori, Yasuda (1967) for Tongarevan (Penrhyn), and Newbrand (1951) and Elbert and Pukui (1979) for Hawaiian. Similar outlines for other Polynesian languages can be found for Samoan (Pawley 1960, Milner 1966, and Mosel and Hovdhaugen 1992), Nukuoro (Carroll 1965), Tongan (Morton 1962), West Futuna-Aniwa (Dougherty 1983), Pukapuka (Salisbury 1985), Tokelau (Hooper 1986b), Niue (Sperlich, ed. 1997) and Tuvaluan (Besnier 2000). Basically, these outlines include a list of the segmental phonemes and their allophonic ranges, and comments on syllable structure, phoneme distribution, stress patterns and, occasionally, intonation. Hohepa also included a distinctive feature analysis and a brief section entitled ‘Generative Grammar of Phonology’ for Māori. These two sections reflected the then current orientation of linguists

¹ Biggs (1978:699).

towards the newly developing Transformational-Generative theory of linguistics and many revisions have been made to both these areas since 1967.

Detailed descriptions of particular aspects of Polynesian phonology are found in, for example, Krupa (1966), Conday (1989, 1990), Bickmore (1995) and Mutu (2000).

However, most of the available information on the sound systems of Polynesian languages appears as introductory notes on pronunciation in dictionaries or grammars. Usually a list of the segmental phonemes is provided, with comments on the phonetics of a particular phoneme only if it differs greatly from what English, French or Spanish speakers would expect of the particular grapheme. Many of the early, mainly missionary works made no mention of contrastive vowel length² and although mention was almost always made of glottal stop when it occurred in a language, its phonemic status was rarely represented in the orthography. In the more recent publications, these omissions have been remedied and some comments on stress patterns are usually included. However there is still very little to be found on intonation, and the suprasegmental feature I am calling 'penultimate vowel extension' for Marquesan has received only passing mention for a single dialect of one other Polynesian language.

The phonology of Polynesian is considered to be very simple because of the small number of segmental phonemes for the languages and their very restricted distribution (for example, all syllables in Marquesan are of the form (C)V(V)). Perhaps this is why very few authors bother to describe the phonetics of these languages in any detail.

2.2 Developments in Polynesian syntactic description

Although attempts to escape the bonds of classical grammar began in the 19th century,³ many of the grammars of Polynesian languages published prior to 1960 were 'traditional' grammars, sometimes referred to as Latinate⁴ since they were based on the grammars of classical European languages such as Latin and Greek. While a number of these grammars⁵ contained a wealth of descriptive data, they were considered by later authors to be anecdotal, describing only such features as caught the author's attention (Salmond 1974:22). They were also considered to be non-predictive, since it was not possible to generate new utterances with any assurance that they would be possible in the language (Biggs 1961:4). Because of this basically haphazard approach to language, the grammars could not be considered empirically adequate by the standards of the then dominant school in linguistics (Salmond 1974:22).

1961 saw the publication of the first formal description in the field of Polynesian syntax. Bruce Biggs used an item and arrangement model⁶ to describe in detail the internal structure of the unit of New Zealand Māori speech he called the 'contour word'. During the late 1950s he had been working under Carl Vögelin at Indiana University, where Boas's descriptive

² Vowel length is phonemic in all Polynesian languages with the possible exception of West Futuna-Aniwa (Capell 1958 and Dougherty 1983). However, Hooper (1985:184) points out that 'There are indications that the features of stress and vowel length are confused by Dougherty'.

³ Churchward (1985/1953) is a notable example of an attempt to capture Tongan categories and structures.

⁴ See for example Elbert (1985:69)

⁵ See Biggs (1968) for discussion of pre-1960 Māori grammars, and Elbert and Pukui (1979) for a similar discussion for Hawaiian.

⁶ See Early (1981) for a brief discussion of IA.

methods for writing generative rules were being further developed by concentrating on the arrangement of morphemes in such fixed order units as the word. When Biggs initially attempted to apply the model to Māori, there was some difficulty because Māori words as conventionally recognised were mostly single morphemes. It appeared, however, that there was a unit of Māori sentence structure with a sufficiently fixed morpheme order to permit the item and arrangement model to be useful. His unwillingness to eschew words and morphology completely resulted in the term 'contour word' for this unit. This was because some of the phonological features defining words were present in the unit; for example, the 'contour word' was usually spoken as a single fluent unit, and where a speaker hesitated in mid-contour word, restart was at the beginning of that contour word. He called the internal structure of this unit morphology-syntax (Biggs 1960). Carroll, in writing his description of Nukuoro, was the only other writer to use the term contour word (Carroll 1965:200). Buse used the term 'piece' for the equivalent unit in Rarotongan Māori (Buse 1963a, 1963b, 1965). However, as early as 1961 Pawley used the term 'phrase' and this is the term now generally used in Polynesian linguistics.

In describing the structure of the phrase, Biggs was led to note the fixed order of morphemes it contained, and the existence of a number of position classes or paradigms of particles. He used Markov Process-type generative formulae⁷ to describe the possible arrangements of bases and particles within the phrase, presenting them in a pseudo-mathematical form. This model relied heavily on the fact that members of a position class were mutually incompatible and that in general they occur in the same position relative to the nucleus and the other particles. A key notion, and the main innovation in Biggs's formalisms, was that of nucleus. As well as this, there was the notion of base to allow slots within the nucleus for complex words as well as morphemes.

Both Carroll (1965) for Nukuoro and Pawley (1961, 1966) for Samoan followed this model and particular mode of description very closely. Buse (1963a, 1965) also followed Biggs's phrase model but abandoned the complicated and 'fiendishly difficult to read' pseudo-mathematical formulae in favour of a much less formal, and consequently less 'empirically adequate', presentation of his data for Rarotongan. Other descriptions which have followed the phrase model include Yasuda (1967) for Tongareva, Kirikiri (1974:§2.2 and §2.3) for Niuean, and Early (1981) for Tikopian. Bauer (1981:20), in outlining the grammar of Māori, acknowledges that the phrase as proposed by Biggs is 'the most appropriate unit for discussion of Māori syntax'. The model has also been drawn on in the writing of several of the available pedagogical grammars of Polynesian languages, in particular Biggs's *Let's learn Maori*, which in its second (1973) edition saw several important changes resulting from the work of Hohepa and others.⁸

Although the phrase model has come in for considerable criticism, as I will outline below, and for a period was out of favour with some descriptive linguists working on Polynesian languages, it has remained, in its informal version and with some modifications, the preferred model for the description of the internal structure of the Polynesian phrase.

By the mid 1960s, structuralist language descriptions, of which Biggs's was an example, were coming under severe criticism from the transformational-generativists. Chomsky, Postal and others, who developed what became known as the Standard Theory (ST) of generative grammar, considered that the taxonomic descriptions of the structuralists looked

⁷ See Mutu-Grigg (1982:3–5) for comment on the application of Markov Processes to linguistic description.

⁸ See also Elbert and Pukui (1979) for Hawaiian, and Coppenrath and Prévost (1974) for Tahitian.

for patterns of distribution 'rather than uncovering competence; [and] ignored formal rules and syntactic analyses' (Salmond 1974:23). But there was a brief transitional period between the structuralist and ST eras when the possibility of integrating item and arrangement and item and process models was considered. It was during this period that Patrick Hohepa (1967) was writing his *Profile generative grammar of Maori* which contained the first attempt to utilise transformational theory to describe the grammar of a Polynesian language.

Using an item and arrangement model he extended and considerably refined Biggs's (1961) phrase model. He then took up Biggs's (1960) suggestion that phrases could be classified according to their initial morphemes and sentence structures described in terms of combinations of phrase types. Seven phrase types were identified and a description was given of how they may combine into simple sentences. Hohepa's sentence profiles were possible orderings of the various phrase types which occur within a simple sentence without changing meaning.

In the next chapter, he included a transformational-generative grammar based largely on Chomsky's *Syntactic structures*. It aimed to generate all the potential kernel sentences (that is, profile sentences from which all other profile sentences can be derived) which he had used as examples in the previous chapter.

Hohepa's grammar and his subsequent papers (1969a, b, 1970) provided many insights into Māori and Polynesian syntax, prompting a good deal of further research on the comparative syntax of the Polynesian language group. In particular, his 1969 paper on the Accusative-to-Ergative Drift hypothesis for Polynesian promoted debate on the subject which lasted more than two decades.⁹ However Hohepa (1967) was the only attempt made to use both the IA and IP models for a Polynesian language. After the appearance of Chomsky's *Aspects of the theory of syntax* in 1965 and the refinement of ST, the two approaches were for some time deemed mutually incompatible and this was reflected in Polynesian linguistics by the appearance of descriptions which not only used the *Aspects* framework exclusively but were also severely critical of several of the claims made in the item and arrangement descriptions. Sharples (1968) presented detailed criticisms of Biggs's phrase structure model. He claimed that if, in fact, Biggs (1961) was intended to be a grammar, rather than a description, then it was internally inconsistent since there were 'a number of conflicting claims about the constituent structure of sentences and phrases' and was therefore 'not capable of a single, natural interpretation as a generative grammar' (Sharples 1968:19). He then went on to attempt to rewrite Biggs's formulae using ST rewrite rules notation, positing four interrelated interpretations. Several specific criticisms were included in these sections, such as:

1. the model failed to show that some particles within a phrase are exocentric, relating the phrase to other phrases, while others are endocentric, concerned with defining or modifying the phrase nucleus;
2. the claim that structural identity exists between all sequences called 'phrases' leads to an incorrect description of the grammatical relations holding within phrases;

⁹ See for example Lynch (1972), Tchekhoff (1973), Ranby (1973), Clark (1976), Sharples (1976), Sinclair (1976), Chung (1978), Seiter (1980), Sperlich (1997) and Hooper (2000). Polinskaya (Moscow) has also worked in this area.

3. since formulae were given for each base type, the rules were very repetitive and didn't point out a lot of important generalities such as the fact that the postposed peripheries are almost identical for each base type.¹⁰

Although Sharples was critical of Biggs's phrase analysis, he did not question the fact that the phrase was an important syntactic unit. Indeed, his examples illustrated that all his major constituents were made up of either a single complete phrase or several (complete) phrases. No major constituent boundary occurred phrase-internally. Furthermore, even though his major constituent VP included the noun phrase functioning as direct object as well as the verb and its associated particles,¹¹ or two complete phrases, Sharples (1968:116) himself presented evidence against this analysis in his passivisation rule.

Thorpe (1968) separated these two phrases, attributing major constituent status to each, and throughout her analysis also, the examples illustrate that most often it is the phrase which is operating as a single unit under transformation. Thus it could be concluded that while these two authors had considerable misgivings about the internal structure of the phrase proposed by Biggs, along with concern that his proposed model could not account for complex clauses and sentences, they did in fact use the phrase as a syntactic unit in their grammars. At one level everyone was agreed that the phrase is a basic unit for describing the order and combinatorial possibilities of morphemes.

These criticisms prompted some rethinking of the model, and Biggs (1971) presented a modified version in the sketch grammar of Māori included in his paper 'The languages of Polynesia'. He remedied the more specific inconsistencies pointed out by Sharples and included the refinements from Hohepa while still maintaining the basic tenets of the phrase model. He noted, for example, that 'non-contrastive re-ordering of phrases is common as well as contrastive re-ordering accompanied by change of grammatical morphemes' (Biggs 1971:470) and that all phrases were either nominal, verbal or interjectional (1971:474). He used Martinet's terms 'centrifugal' and 'centripetal' (where Sharples had used 'exocentric' and 'endocentric'), calling such morphemes functors and definers respectively. Also, instead of giving formulae for the distribution of grammatical morphemes for each base type, he listed the grammatical morphemes in three tables: one for the preposed periphery of the nominal phrase; one for the preposed periphery of the verbal phrase; and the third for the postposed periphery of any phrase.

At about the same time, in his paper 'Grammatical reconstruction and change in Polynesia and Fiji' Andrew Pawley (1970), who was supervisor for both Sharples and Thorpe, was also modifying his 1966 analysis of the Samoan verb phrase, although his new analysis recognised two (as opposed to Biggs's three) primary constituents of the verb phrase: an aspect constituent and a Nucleus. The aspect constituent consisted of the verbal aspect markers and the Nucleus divided into 'an obligatory minor verb phrase (Vp) and optional Qualifier' (Pawley 1970:318). He included the directional and manner particles in the Vp (where Biggs had included them in the postposed periphery for Māori) claiming that they only modify verb bases and also that this Vp acted as a unit under nominalisation and

¹⁰ Thorpe, who was writing her thesis (Thorpe 1968 published later as Salmond 1974) at the same time as Sharples and under the same supervisor, while not as explicitly critical of Biggs, pointed out (Salmond 1974:54) that structural syntaxes appeared to have 'largely focussed upon a limited range of distributional regularities, including the order of morphemes, and co-occurrence relations within short stretches such as words and phrases'.

¹¹ Following Chomsky's English based model.

passivisation, while qualifying particles modified all types of bases and 'fall outside this unit, as the aspect markers do also' (1970:318).

These conditions do not necessarily apply in Māori since manner particles can modify both nominal and verbal bases and are only optionally included with the base under nominalisation and passivisation,¹² and the directional particles except for *mai* can also modify nominal bases and are not included with the base under nominalisation and passivisation.

Pawley then goes on to say that there are certain other morphemes which occur in the same phonological phrase as this material which are excluded from the verb phrase base structure. Among these are the anaphoric particle *ai* and the positional particle *nei*, which he maintains 'should be introduced into the verb phrase sequence by transformations' (1970:318) and be regarded as either a reference to a complement constituent or as an embedding. Further to this he points out (1970:328) that for many Polynesian languages there is 'a good deal of freedom in the positions of the postposed particles' and postulates that this could be connected with the fact that several of the postposed particles 'have a function not of modifying the verb base but of relating the minor verb phrase or verb phrase proper to another part of the discourse'.¹³ For the Māori verb phrase there is no doubt that *ai* and the positional particles are centrifugal in nature.

After their initial criticisms of the IA model, both Sharples (1968) and Thorpe (1968) went on in the rest of their theses not only to present sets of ordered rules for the syntaxes of Sikaiana and Luangiua respectively which were modelled on the syntactic component given in Chomsky's *Aspects*, but also to justify them. The ordered rules generated a set of abstract sentence structures or 'deep structure', which was then acted on in the transformational sub-component to produce the 'surface structure'. In presenting their extensive justifications for their rules, both authors not only offered considerable methodological refinement for the model, but also broke a lot of new ground in Polynesian linguistics, particularly in the area of the transformational sub-component. However, although they were working on two very closely related Outlier languages, they came up with two very different hypotheses for the fundamental constituent structure of sentences in the two languages. Thorpe (1968) (later published as Salmond 1974) proposed the structure

S → NOM VERBAL (NOM)¹⁴ (PREP) (LOC)
 :sentence consists of obligatory Nominal
 category, obligatory Verbal category,
 optional Nominal category, optional
 Prepositional category and optional
 Locative category

in that order

(Salmond 1974:36)

¹² See Mutu-Grigg (1982).

¹³ Biggs had been quite adamant about the fixed order of particles within the postposed periphery of the Māori phrase in Biggs (1961) but that notion was only implicit in Biggs (1971) and evidence has since been produced which indicates that the order Biggs gave is the preferred, but not absolute, order of particles in the postposed periphery of the Māori phrase. (See Mutu-Grigg 1982:33.)

¹⁴ In Thorpe (1968) and Salmond (1974) the first NOM refers to the Subject and the second to the Direct Object.

while Sharples argued for

S → Nom VP (LP)

:The sentence consists of an obligatory
Nominal Constituent (Nom), an obligatory
Verbal Constituent (VP), and an optional
Locative Phrase constituent (LP).

where VP → Vp (NOM)

:The major Verbal Constituent is divided into
a minor Verb Phrase (Vp), and an optional
Nominal constituent (NOM).

(Sharples 1968:72)

Apart from the fact that more similar fundamental constituent structures could be expected for such closely related languages, the theoretical framework in which they were working explicitly claimed the universality of its rules. Salmond (1974:53) had written 'Chomsky has suggested that much of the deep structure generated by the Base of the language will eventually be proven common to all languages, and as reflecting an innate and universal patterning in the human perception of experience'. Although a great deal of work in the field of universals had been undertaken with the aim of proving this point, Salmond did admit that this was still a very controversial suggestion. Yet she went on to suggest that if it was valid, then Rule 1 of her categorial rules, the hypothesis of the fundamental constituent structure of the Luangiua sentence, 'would also constitute the basic sentence structure of all Polynesian languages ...' (1974:53). But not only were Sharples and Salmond's analyses in conflict with each other, they conflicted with Hohepa's for Māori which had been given as

S → (Neg) Pred + Subj

where Pred → VP - P (Lp) ± (Loc)

and VP = verb phrase including agentive phrase

and P = initial NP or locative phrase

(Hohepa 1967:99)

Sharples and Salmond had argued against this hypothesis both on the grounds that it was an inappropriate 'functional' analysis as opposed to the categorial analysis required by the model, and also that it was not well motivated on syntactic grounds. Notational aspects aside, Hohepa's rules not only included the category Negative as an (optional) basic constituent,¹⁵ but also hypothesised a very different verb-initial constituent order, as opposed to their basic NP-initial order. The other (partial) description of a Polynesian language which used the ST framework were Ranby's (1973) 'Nanumea syntax' and the introductory chapters of Reedy's (1979) 'Complex Sentence Formation in Māori'. Ranby proposed the structure

¹⁵ Hohepa himself (1969b) in fact refutes the idea of including negative in the basic sentence structure by arguing that negatives are higher verbs.

SENTENCE → PREDICATE COMPLEMENT
 where PREDICATE → VERB PHRASE (COMPLEMENT)
 and COMPLEMENT → Preposition NOUN PHRASE

with an underlying VOS structure

(Ranby 1973:52)

while Reedy proposed

S → PRED NP (NP)
 PRED → VP PP
 VP → T/A (pre-V modifier) V (modifier)

(Reedy 1979:34)

These conflicts arising from within the framework did not receive explicit mention, although Chung (1978) suggested, on evidence from Kapingamarangi, that the Outlier languages were probably basically verb-initial languages, being supported in her claim by Hooper (1986a) who put the case for Samoic-Outlier languages.¹⁶

Theoretical linguistics in the United States was continually on the move and, as Salmond (1974:23) pointed out, 'a main problem in current linguistics is the rapid obsolescence of theory'. In 1968, Fillmore in his 'Case for Case' argued for case grammar, paying more attention to functional relations. This was an adaptation of ST, which saw versions of it being used in Polynesian linguistics, in particular by Hawkins (1979) for Hawaiian, Kirikiri (1974) for Niuean and, to some extent, Pearson (1974) for Aitutakian, although Kirikiri was more particularly developing Hohepa's (1969a) arguments. The influence of Fillmore's case grammar was also evident in Sharples's (1976) 'Tokelau syntax' although by this time the theory of grammar was rapidly outstripping its application to language description, and for descriptive grammars strict adherence to one particular framework was starting to wane.

Sharples (1976) used a modified version of ST, and while he returned to the 'kernel sentence' notion that Hohepa had used, he also gave consideration to functional relations. This reflected the broad trend towards the study of functional relations, evidenced for example in the rise of relational grammar, studies of subjecthood, discourse analysis, case relations and so on. He also noted that his main concern in this thesis was to describe the main syntactic features of Tokelauan sentences. The testing of theoretical claims, which featured so strongly in 1968, was not a concern in this work. Thus although the main body of the work was presented using a modified ST framework, he included an extensive section which simply listed and gave examples of all the grammatical morphemes of Tokelauan, presenting them in a manner reminiscent of Biggs's phrase model.

Ranby (1973), also working in an ST framework, had made a similar list for the grammatical morphemes of Nanumean, mainly for clarity of exposition and to illustrate particle combinations within phrases.¹⁷ Kirikiri (1974:63), on the other hand, had referred to his very similarly presented description of the Niuean verb phrase and noun phrase as 'basically structuralist'.

¹⁶ Hooper (1986a) sheds considerable light on the area, demonstrating conclusively that for Tikopia, Tuvalu, Tokelau and Rennell, both NP- and VP-initial orders occur and that the choice between them is discourse governed. However, she notes that syntactic evidence points to an underlying verb-initial order, with topicalisation accounting for the development of non-verb-initial word order.

¹⁷ Ranby (pers. comm.)

With the wane in strict adherence to a single framework also came a move away from formal description. TG grammars had in common with Biggs's Markov Chain model a plethora of symbols and formulae which were fine if the linguist was in the business of constructing formal algorithms for generating grammatical utterances in the language, but not so helpful if the reader wanted discussion of the functional relations of the language under discussion. As a result, descriptions of Polynesian languages since the mid-1970s have been somewhat eclectic as to theoretical approach and informal in their presentation. Work has also been carried out on historical and comparative aspects, for example Chapin (1974), Clark (1976), Chung (1978), Clark (1981) and Hooper (1984, 1986a), or on specific problem areas, for example Biggs (1974), Reedy (1979), Bauer (1981), Hohepa (1981), Mutu-Grigg (1982), Hooper (1984, 1986), Hovdhaugen (1990, 1997), Sperlich (1997), Clark (2000) and Mutu (2000). Most of these works are less doctrinaire than the earlier descriptions and eschew any discussion of theoretical orientation¹⁸ in the interests of presenting their data and arguments with a clarity not obscured by the idiosyncracies of one particular theory.¹⁹ This is not to say that these works do not carry a heavy load of theoretical assumptions. Their main aim is to elucidate the language, rather than to test a general theory. The two kinds of analysis are intertwined and as such there has not been a complete swing of the pendulum, but rather only a shift in emphasis. The recent grammars of Polynesian languages, for example Biggs (1973) for Māori, Elbert and Pukui (1979) for Hawaiian, Coppenrath and Prévost (1974) for Tahitian, Robin Hooper's introductory grammar in the 1986 *Tokelau dictionary*, Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992) for Samoan and Harlow (2001) for Māori, have been pedagogical and/or reference grammars, which by their very nature avoid formalism and the discussion of theoretical problems.

The major exceptions to this are Bauer's 1993 *Maori* and Besnier's 2000 *Tuvaluan*. Although both these grammars are written strictly within the framework set for the *Descriptive grammars* series,²⁰ they still provide many significant insights into the syntax of Māori and Tuvaluan respectively. Bauer's (1997) subsequent *Reed reference grammar of Māori* is mainly pedagogical in approach and is written for a much wider audience. It still contains discussions on many theoretical issues relating to specific grammatical topics but is much less formal and succeeds in highlighting many puzzling areas of Māori grammar.

Since 1961, the scope of syntactic descriptions has been slowly expanding. Biggs concentrated on the phrase, Hohepa built on that to consider simple sentences; Sharples (1968) and Thorpe tested ST with the aim of incorporating complex sentences into the

¹⁸ Chung (1978) acknowledges her debt to Transformational Grammar and Relational Grammar, and a similar orientation is evident in Seiter (1980). Reedy (1979) draws on several ST related theories in discussing coordination, relativisation and complementation in Māori. Bauer (1981) was considering how three different types of case grammar accounted for the prepositions of Māori and also what insights into Māori grammar could be obtained through Relational Grammar. Mutu-Grigg (1982) was testing the formulae presented by Biggs in 1961 with respect to a small class of grammatical particles. The latter two authors found that while each theory provided valuable insights, there were also some severe shortcomings which required modification of the theory. Bauer (1993) was writing within a rigidly defined framework and she points out a large number of categories and topics listed within the framework which either do not exist for Māori or are irrelevant. She also notes on several occasions that the framework does not allow proper description of some aspects of Māori grammar.

¹⁹ Exceptions include Waite (1987), Pearce and Waite (1997), Massam (2000) and Pearce (2000), which are theoretically oriented and presented.

²⁰ Du Feu (1995) on Rapanui is the only other Polynesian language included in this series to date.

descriptions, although Reedy was the first to concentrate on the structure of complex sentences. About the same time, Bauer was covering aspects of this area as well, in particular relativisation. Most recently Hohepa (1981), Hooper (1986a) and Besnier (1989, 1990 and 1996) have considered discourse analysis. Current discussions in Polynesian syntax continue to range over all these areas although work in discourse analysis is still in its early stages.

At each stage of development of the field of Polynesian linguistics, the then current theoretical considerations in general linguistics have, naturally, had considerable influence on discussions. Given the many different theories, some competing, others complementary, that have been considered over this period, it is not surprising that more recent works are eclectic in their theoretical approach, drawing on whichever theory seems most satisfying for a particular part of the grammar. The rise of eclecticism and the move away from formal methods of language description could be seen in some ways as a move back to traditional-type descriptions, since none of the recent works are exhaustive descriptions and they invariably discuss only certain aspects in detail. This situation probably arises from the practicalities of the task at hand. Writing an exhaustive grammar of any language is a massive undertaking, one which could probably never be absolutely completed. Thus the compromise between exhaustiveness for the entire language and completeness of description for each aspect of the language is aimed at by attempting both only for specific aspects of the language or languages under discussion. The aspects concentrated on tend to be treated almost in isolation from the rest of the language, which implicitly encourages the use of differing theories. On the other hand, this type of descriptive analysis tends to discourage formalism, which requires applicability throughout the whole language.

In the following chapters, I will not depart greatly from the established trends for Polynesian syntactic studies to describe the morphology-syntax (internal structure of the phrase) of the Ūa Pou dialect of Marquesan. The description will draw heavily on Biggs's 1971 model using the underlying notion that the phrase is, in Martinet's terms (Martinet 1962:44), the smallest syntactically autonomous unit. To demonstrate this, we note that an Ūa Pou phrase can be identified unambiguously in both phonological and syntactic terms. Phonologically, the boundaries of the phrase are marked by pause or potential pause. Syntactically, the phrase is the smallest unit which can move freely within an utterance without change to its own meaning. For example, the utterance

// ì tītahi â // i tihe mai ai // è ùa ènana //

LOC a.certain day past arrive hither APH INDEF two man

'One day, two men arrived.'

contains three phrases (marked off by //). Each of these units can occur either initially, medially or finally.

i tihe mai ai // è ùa ènana // ì tītahi â

or

è ùa ènana // i tihe mai ai // ì tītahi â

Some changes of order do imply a semantic change to the utterance, and may also require a change in the grammatical particles within the phrase, particularly where transformations such as passivisation or subject-focusing are involved. But the function and relationship of each phrase to the rest of the utterance is clearly marked, and each phrase is autonomous.

3 *Phonology*

This chapter discusses aspects of the phonology of the Ûa Pou dialect, many of which also occur in the other dialects of Marquesan. Particular attention is drawn to the allophones of the glottal stop phoneme, to the suprasegmental feature which I have called penultimate vowel extension, and to stress.

3.1 The segmental phonemes

In the following section the segmental phonemes of the Ûa Pou dialect and their allophones are listed. The two allophones of glottal stop, one of which is not a stop at all, raise an interesting issue for the description of this phoneme, in particular given that there has been almost no comment on the features involved for other Polynesian languages. It is therefore dealt with separately after considering the other segmental phonemes.

The description of the segmental phonemes and observations on certain suprasegmental features are based on the speech of my main informants, Benjamin Teikitutoua, and his wife Rosita Kuàùhuì of Hakahau valley on Ûa Pou. The recordings of the speech of four other informants recorded by Bruce Biggs in 1967–68 in Honolulu, Hawai'i and Pape'ete, Tahiti were also used. Three of those informants, Ann Marie Rosen, Tahia Kimi and Louise Smith, are women from Nuku Hiva which is in the same general dialect area as Ûa Pou, that is northern. Pahuia-i-Vevau is a man from Hiva Òa in the southern dialect area.¹ The speech of other (unnamed) speakers is also recorded and was checked for supportive evidence. Spectrograms were made of some of the material recorded by Mrs Rosen and Pahuia. While the phonemic inventory given here is specifically that of Ûa Pou, evidence of the same phonetic detail of certain segments, including allophonic variation, was present in the tape recordings of non-Ûa Pou speakers. Where this has been the case I have referred to the features as Marquesan rather than just Ûa Pou.

¹ For a comprehensive discussion of phoneme correspondences between Marquesan dialects and comments on dialect differences throughout the Marquesan group see Lavondès and Randall (1978).

3.1.1 Phoneme inventory

Consonants

	Bilabial	alveo-dental	velar	glottal
stops	/p/	/t/	/k/	/ʔ/ [~]
fricatives	/v/			/h/
nasals	/m/	/n/		
flap		/ɾ/		

Vowels

	front	central	back
high	/i/		/u/
	[ɪ]		
central	/e/	/o/	
		[ə]	
	[ɛ]		
low		[ʌ]	
		/a/	[ɑ]

3.1.2 Consonants

/p/

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop. A comparatively random pattern or ‘fuzziness’ in the spectrogram after each of the stopped consonants /p, t, k/ indicates the presence of aspiration.² The readings also indicate varying degrees in the strength of the aspiration both for individual stops and between the stops. /p/ is aspirated in most environments although it is more aspirated before a stressed or long vowel.

/paʔe/	‘hat’
/upoko/	‘head’
/ihepe/	‘ship’
/puaka/	‘pig’

/t/

/t/ is a voiceless alveo-dental stop. Only slight aspiration is indicated on the spectrograms for this stop.

/toʔu/	‘three’
/mate/	‘die’
/peto/	‘dog’
/tutu/	‘light up’
/tihe/	‘arrive’

² Ladefoged (1982:183).

/k/

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop. The spectrogram readings indicate stronger aspiration with this stop than with other stops, particularly before front vowels.

/kaakaʔa/	'lizard'	
/ikoa/	'name'	
/tekao/	'talk'	
/makimaki/	'want'	[m'ʌk ^h i m'ʌk ^h i]
/kehika/	'Polynesian apple'	
/kumikumi/	'beard'	

The fourth stop of Marquesan is the glottal stop [ʔ]. As I wish to discuss the allophones of this phoneme at some length, I deal with it separately in §3.1.4

/v/

/v/ is a voiced labiodental fricative.

/vaʔu/	'eight'
/iva/	'nine'
/vehine/	'woman'
/vaaveka/	'middle'
/vivini/	'understand, think'
/puovo/	'dried out, burnt'
/vino/	'wine'

/h/

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative. Very occasionally my informant used an alveopalatal fricative as an alternative, and then only after /i/. However, he claimed it was Tahitian influence.³

/henua/	'land'
/hiti/	'climb'
/heke/	'descend, octopus'
/haa/	'four'
/haʔe/	'house'
/hua/	'that, fruit, return'
/hoʔi/	'intensive'
/tahi/	'one'
/noho/	'live, sit'
/onohuʔu/	'ten'
/ihepe/	'ship' [ih'ɛpɛ] ~ [iʃ'ɛpɛ]
/pohaa/	'break'

³ Handy (1930:9) lists various allophones of /h/ which he describes as 'a simple *h* through to a distinct German *ch*, through *sch* to *s*, with a *w* sound often included'. I found no evidence of this variation. Both Lemaitre (1972:47) and Kuki (1969:53) describe a fairly wide allophonic range for /h/ in Tahitian and Tuamotuan respectively. In Māori there are reports from 19th century observers of initial /h/ varying between [h] and [ʃ] in some northern dialects, although this is no longer heard today.

/m/

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal.

/maʔu/	‘shade’
/ʔima/	‘five’
/ʔumoʔi/	‘negative’
/meika/	‘banana’
/kumikumi/	‘beard’
/tumu/	‘tree, trunk of tree’

/n/

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal.

/nunui/	‘big’
/eenaa/	‘there’
/vehine/	‘woman’
/vaahana/	‘husband’
/menino/	‘calm’

/r/

/r/ is an alveolar flap [r] which is occasionally a trill. /r/ has a very low functional load in the Ûa Pou dialect and hence is rare. There are many examples of doublets involving /r/ and /ʔ/.⁴

/karaiha/	‘big’	
/harara/	‘beautiful’	
/rurui/	‘big’	
/kamariri/	‘cold’	(cf. /kamaʔiʔi/)
/rere/	‘go away’	(cf. /ʔeʔe/)
/korero/	‘go away’	(cf. /koʔeʔo/)

3.1.3 Vowel phonemes

Like all other Polynesian languages, Marquesan has five vowels and a short/long contrast. Long vowels are interpreted here as sequences of two identical vowels represented phonemically as /ii ee aa oo uu/.⁵ The following examples illustrate contrastive vowel length:

⁴ Historically, Proto Eastern Polynesian *r has been replaced by glottal stop in most items in Marquesan. However, since there are several examples of doublets in my informants’ speech, it could be hypothesised that the change never reached completion or that words containing /r/ are borrowed from French (e.g. *karaiha*) or are due to Tahitian influence. However, Crook (1953) has some /r/s. Elbert (1982:506) quoting Lavondès says Ûa Pou conserves /r/. Clark (2000) attributes the presence of /r/ in Marquesan to the existence of a number of factors: (i) although historically PEP *r most commonly became /ʔ/ or less commonly /n/ or /k/, this never reached completion; (ii) there has also been borrowing from at least Tahitian, French and English in modern times; (iii) there is a possibility that the Ûa Pou dialect may have preserved *r.

⁵ Compare Biggs (1961:8), Hohepa (1967:5), Clark (1976:12) and others.

/kaka?a/	'perfume'	/kaaka?a/	'lizard'
/keke/	'scrape, peel skin off breadfruit'	/keekee/	'armpit'
/tutu/	'light (a lamp)'	/tuutuu/	'to water'
/ke?i/	'dig'	/ke?ii/	'big'
/mo?i/	'negative'	/moo?ii/	'girl'

Long vowels are considered to be clusters because:

1. All other vowel combinations occur, hence it is reasonable to regard the phonetically long vowels as like vowel combinations.
2. Where a phonetically long vowel occurs at the end of a phonological phrase the vowel preceding it is not prosodically lengthened. (The prosodic feature of vowel lengthening occurs on the penultimate vowel in the phonological phrase. See §3.5 below.) Also, the final, phonetically long vowel can carry the phrase stress, which is usually carried by the penultimate vowel.
3. Historically, many long vowels have resulted from the loss of a consonant between two vowels as the following examples illustrate:⁶

PPn		ÛA POU	
*loholoho	'spathe of coconut palm'	/ʔooʔoo/	'spathe of coconut palm'
*ma?a	'clean, clear'	/maa/	'clear'
*pe?e	'override, soft'	/pee/	'rotten'
*pihi	'squirt, spurt forth'	/pii/	'spurt forth'

4. There is evidence elsewhere in the language that phonemically separate vowels of the same quality are articulated as a single long vowel. For example, where identical vowels occur at the end of one morpheme or word and at the beginning of the next within a phonological phrase (and are hence phonemically separated), they are articulated as a single long vowel. If long vowels were to be treated as single phonemes then, in examples such as these, morpheme and word boundaries could not be indicated.

The vowel phonemes have a very small allophonic range particularly if they are long. Short vowels tend to become more central than their geminate counterpart.

/i/

Geminate /ii/ is a high front unrounded vowel close to the pronunciation of [i] in (English) 'tea'.

/tiitahi/	[t'i:tahi]	'a certain, other'
/hii/	[h'i:]	'to fish'

Short /i/ between consonants, or word-initially or word-finally ranges from a little lower than geminate /ii/ to the lower and more central [ɪ] close to the pronunciation of [ɪ] in (English) 'pit'.

⁶ Proto Polynesian data was obtained from the POLLEX files held on computer files in the Māori Studies Department, University of Auckland by Bruce Biggs.

/piki/	[p'iki]	'climb'
/kite/	[k'ite]	'see'
/ʔia/	[~'iyʌ]	verbal particle
/hoʔi/	[hʔ~i]	'indeed'
/kehika/	[kɛh'ikʌ]	'Polynesian apple'
/ihepe/	[ih'ɛpɛ]	'ship'
/menino/	[mɛn'inɔ]	'calm'
/koi/	[k'ɔi]	'sharp'
/kui/	[k'uwɪ]	'mother'
/kumikumi/	[k'umik'umi]	'beard'
/vivini/	[viv'ini]	'understand'

In close transition following another vowel /i/ is not only lower and more central than geminate /ii/ but is also much shorter, particularly in the sequences /ai/ and /ei/.

/kaikai/	[kʌik'ʌi]	'food'
/meika/	[m'eikʌ]	'banana'

/e/

Geminate /ee/ is a mid-front unrounded vowel [ɛ] close to the pronunciation of the first vowel in (English) 'fairy'.

/ʔeemi/	[ʔ'ɛ.mi]	'draw up'
/ee/	[ʔ'ɛ:]	'yes'
/teenaa/	[tɛ:n'a:]	'that'

Short /e/ ranges from a little higher than geminate /ee/, but lower and more central than [ɪ], to a little lower and more central than /ee/. The higher allophone is within the range of [e] while the lower one is closer to [ə]. The higher allophone occurs in close transition with a following high vowel and is much shorter than the more central allophone.⁷

/meika/	[m'eikʌ]	'banana'
/nei/	[n'eɪ]	positional particle
/pekeheu/	[pɛkɛh'eu]	'wing'

The lower central allophone occurs in close transition following the low vowel /a/ where it is also shortened and often reduced to an off-glide.

/vaevae/	[v'ʌv'ʌə]	'foot'
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The more central [ɛ] occurs elsewhere.

/kehika/	[kɛh'ikʌ]	'mountain apple'
/ʔehua/	[~ɛh'uʌ]	'year'
/hetuu/	[hɛt'u:]	'star'
/mate/	[m'ʌtɛ]	'die, sick'
/menike/	[mɛn'ikɛ]	'American'

⁷ Combinations of unlike vowels in a syllable, particularly those in which the second vowel is articulated higher in the oral cavity than the first, are often referred to as diphthongs in Polynesian language descriptions. See e.g. Biggs (1961:13), Lemaitre (1972:67), Elbert and Pukui (1979:15).

/mea/	[m'eΛ]	'thing'
/oki+ʔumoeka/	[ʔoki~um'ɔɛkΛ]	'bed'
/ʔeo/	[~'ɛɔ]	'voice'
/tuehine/	[t'uɛhine]	'sister'

/a/

Geminate /aa/ is a low back unrounded vowel [ɑ].

/haa/	[h'ɑ:]	'four'
/taaua/	[t'ɑ:uwaΛ]	'we (dual, incl)'
/aaka/	[ʔɑ:kΛ]	'root'

Short /a/ is more central and higher with highest allophones occurring in close transition before other vowels particularly the high vowels /i/ and /u/.

/vai/	[v'Λi]	'water'
/vae/	[v'Λə]	'foot'
/kaukau/	[kΛuk'Λu]	'bathe'
/paotuu/	[pΛɔ't'u:]	'all'

Elsewhere, short /a/ is slightly lower (although the phonetic symbol for it is still the same).

/paʔe/	[p'Λ_ɛ]	'hat'
/paʔatai/	[pΛ~Λt'Λi]	'salt'
/kaka/	[k'ΛkΛ]	'bag'
/meʔama/	[mɛ~'ΛmaΛ]	'moon'
/vaka/	[v'ΛkΛ]	'canoe'

/o/

/o/ is a low mid-back rounded vowel [ɔ].

/onohuʔu/	[ɔnɔh'u~u]	'ten'
/poʔa/	[p'ɔ~Λ]	'coconut'
/ʔoto/	[~'ɔtɔ]	'inside'
/ʔumoʔi/	[~um'ɔ~i]	'negative'

Geminate /oo/ is a little higher than /o/ (although the phonetic symbol is still the same).

/kooʔua/	[k'ɔ:ʔuwaΛ]	'you (dual)'
/ʔaaʔooʔee/	[ʔ'ɑ:ʔɔ:ʔɛ:]	'no'
/mooʔii/	[mɔ:ʔ'i:]	'girl'

In close transition with other vowels, /o/ is slightly lower with lower vowels and higher with higher vowels and slightly more fronted with front vowels (although the phonetic symbol would remain the same). It is also shorter than /o/ is between consonants and/or juncture, particularly before /u/.

/ʔouoho/	[~'ɔuɔhɔ]	'hair'
/toitoi/	[tɔit'ɔi]	'true, correct'
/pakahio/	[pΛkΛh'ɔ]	'old woman'
/koe/	[k'ɔɛ]	'you (sing)'

/ʔeo/	[~'ɛɔ]	'language'
/ikoa/	[ik'ɔʌ]	'name'
/paotuu/	[pʌɔt'u:]	'all'
/koutou/	[kɔut'ɔu]	'you (plural)'
/puovo/	[puw'ɔvɔ]	'dried out, burnt'

/u/

Both geminate /uu/ and short /u/ are the high back rounded vowel [u].

/pua/	[p'uʌ]	'flower'
/puʔa/	[p'u~ʌ]	'wash'
/tuutae/	[t'u:tʌə]	'excrement'
/kaiuu/	[kʌiy'u:]	'small'
/huʔuhuʔu/	[hu~uh'u~u]	'feathers'
/muʔi/	[m'u~i]	'after'
/nui/	[n'uwi]	'big'
/pekeheu/	[pɛkɛh'eu]	'wing'
/puovo/	[puw'ɔvɔ]	'dried out, burnt'
/uee/	[uw'ɛ:]	'cry'
/ʔua/	[~'uwʌ]	'two, hole'

Short /u/ is shorter following /a/ and /o/ in the same syllable and is sometimes very short preceding other vowels in the same syllable.

/taatou/	[t'ɑ:tɔu]	'we (incl, plural)'
/au/	[ʌu]	'I, me'
/kui/	[k(u)w'i]	'mother'
/ʔua/	[(~u)w'ʌ]	verbal particle

All vowels are laryngealised and shortened somewhat before and after a glottal stop. They are also shortened before, and sometimes after, /h/. They are also frequently devoiced before final juncture.

3.1.4 /ʔ/ glottal stop

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop with tense and lax allophones. The tense allophone occurs obligatorily before and after the penultimate vowel in a phonological phrase and optionally initiating long syllables elsewhere in the phrase. The lax allophone occurs elsewhere. The tense allophone is heard as a clear glottal stop, [ʔ], while the lax allophone, although easy to detect, is not heard as a stop, its presence being indicated by laryngealisation of the vowels before and after it. The exact phonetics of the lax allophone are not at all clear to me at present, as I will discuss below. However, since it can be established that laryngealisation is involved, I have chosen to use the symbol [~] as its phonetic symbol.⁸ The terms 'tense' and 'lax' are used here in the sense described by Jakobson, Fant and Halle (1952:38) where they say 'Tense phonemes are

⁸ This is following Ladefoged (1982:129) who uses ~ as a subscript to indicate laryngealisation of a segment.

articulated with greater distinction and pressure than the corresponding lax phonemes ... tense phonemes have longer duration than their lax counterparts.'

tense allophone

/poʔa// ⁹	[pʰɔ::ʔʌ]	'coconut'
/maʔu#/ ⁹	[mʰɑ::ʔu]	'shade'
/ʔima#/ ⁹	[ʔʰi::mʌ]	'five'
/kooʔua//	[kʰɔ::ʔʰu::ʌ]	'you (dual)'
/ʔaatou/	[ʔʰatɔu]	'they (pl)'
/teeʔaa//	[tɛ:ʔʰɑ:]	'that, there'
/koʔoua/	[kɔʔʰɔʌ]	'old man'
/manini+tekauʔe#/ ⁹	[mʌnʰinɪtɛkʌʰu::ʔɛ]	'honey'

lax allophone

/poʔa/	[pʰɔ~ʌ]	'coconut'
/maʔu/	[mʰʌ~u]	'shade'
/ʔima/	[~ʰimʌ]	'five'
/paʔatai//	[pʌ~ʌtʰɑ:i]	'salt'
/onohuʔu/	[ɔnɔhʰu~u]	'ten'
/heʔe/	[hʰɛ~ɛ]	'go'

Both allophones cause laryngealisation (or a creaky quality)¹⁰ in the neighbouring vowels, especially in the following vowel. However, the laryngealisation seems to be optional in at least some cases of the tense allophone. It is also frequently difficult to detect audibly with both allophones, although spectrograms will confirm its presence or absence.

On spectrograms the tense allophone has the pattern of a true stopped consonant; that is, there is a complete break in the sound spectrum corresponding to the period of silence during the stop closure. The lax allophone on the other hand is not a stop at all. Throughout the interval corresponding to lax glottal stop, the dark bands corresponding to the formants of the preceding vowel become either steep peaks or troughs or both, before resolving into the bands of the formants of the following vowel. In other words, the harmonic structure of the previous vowel persists at the beginning of the glottal stop until it is taken over, after some disturbance, by the harmonic structure of the following vowel.

The spectrographic evidence seems to offer two possibilities for the phonetics of the lax allophone. The first is that it has no phonetic realisation as such and that its phonemic presence is indicated by the separate articulations of its neighbouring vowels and the partial laryngealisation of these vowels at their common boundary. The second possibility is that lax glottal stop is itself a laryngealised or creaky segment of some description.

Phonetic descriptions of Tuamotuan, Tahitian and Samoan¹¹ indicate support for the first possibility. Kuki (1969:52) reported that in Tuamotuan 'Glottal stop /ʔ/ causes what I call laryngealisation of its neighbouring vowels ... usually those following it ... This laryngealisation is, however, non-phonemic'. He goes on to add 'Utterance-medial glottal

⁹ N.B. The first two / indicate non-final juncture (see §3.2.2).

¹⁰ Catford (1977:100); Ladefoged (1982:129).

¹¹ Of the eleven Polynesian languages with glottal stop in their phoneme inventory, descriptions of its phonetics have been provided for these three only.

stop is stronger than the utterance-initial one, but it occasionally diminishes so much that its presence can be detected only by the presence of the following pharyngealized vowel' (1969:52).

Lemaitre (1972:36) gives a detailed description of Tahitian glottal stop and notes that 'L'occlusion glottale produit une laryngéalisation des voyelles contigües qui est particulièrement nette dans des mots où la tension de la glotte ne se relâche pas en raison d'occlusives glottales successives ...'. He describes the laryngealisation as 'La tension au niveau du larynx produit un battement rapide, où une suite de percussions rapprochées qui se superposent à la voix en donnant un son rauque caractéristique, évoquant un grincement' (1972:36).¹² He concludes that for these cases 'l'occlusion glottale elle-même, probablement incomplète, se fait entendre sous forme d'un ressaut de l'intensité, plus ou moins net, parfois même complètement efface' (1972:36–37). He also notes that its occurrence is not predictable and regards it as 'une réalisation anticipée de l'occlusive glottale' (1972:37). He then goes on to consider the distribution of 'anticipated' (my 'lax') and 'non-anticipated' (my 'tense') glottal stop and concludes that it depends on

- (1) whether the neighbouring vowels form a rising or falling sequence and
- (2) the nature of the preceding consonant.

Coppenrath and Prévost, for Tahitian, noticed that the 'break in the voice' is very variable, sometimes clearly marked, often 'toned down' and at other times almost imperceptible to the untrained ear, seemingly being almost completely suppressed. However, they say that there is no pattern to where these variants occur.

Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:21) for Samoan, however, consider there is more than just the articulation of the adjacent vowels involved. They describe /ʔ/ as 'a glottal stop or creaky voice'. They describe creaky voice as 'a sequence of short glottal closures and in between the closures the phonation of the surrounding vowels goes on although with a certain lowering of the formants 2 and 3 on a vowel spectrogram'

Variation between glottal stop and creaky voice has been noted in several non-Polynesian languages, and this could argue in favour of the second possibility given above, that lax glottal stop is a creaky segment. Ladefoged (1973:76) lists glottal stop and creaky voice as two adjacent values at one end of the continuum of values for the feature glottal stricture. Priestly (1976:268) notes reports of the variation in Finnish, Latvian, English, Danish, Eskilstuna, Hausa, Margi, Sedang, Western Popoloca, and Northern Sierra Miwok. He reports evidence of three phonetic variants in the Slovene dialect spoken in Sele Fara. The first one is a true glottal stop. The second is a creaky configuration which 'appears on the spectrograms to be (at least to some extent) normally separated from neighboring articulations ... and may be termed a creaky glottal approximant' (1976:270). The third is a configuration which 'appears to be partly or even wholly coterminus with neighbouring articulations, and is therefore best represented as a feature of laryngealisation superimposed upon these articulations ...' (1976:270). Spectrograms I have of Marquesan variants are not of good enough quality to draw a distinction between the latter two types of creaky voice or even to say conclusively that there is a range of 'creaky values' for the lax allophone.

Priestly then goes on to present evidence from his Sele Fara data to show that the variation between glottal stop and laryngealisation depends on speech tempo (since glottal

¹² Laryngealisation in Tahitian is much more pronounced than it is in Marquesan.

stop is always longer than the creaky variant) and the rhythm of the sentence. His observations on the speech tempo are certainly upheld in the Marquesan data. Apart from the fact that the spectrograms clearly indicate that intervocalic true glottal stops¹³ are longer than the periods of laryngealisation which represent the lax allophone, only true glottal stops are found with the penultimate vowel of a phonological phrase. These vowels are as long or longer than double vowels or the vowels in a long syllable (see §3.5), and the speech tempo at this part of the phrase is much slower than elsewhere. With vowels in long syllables elsewhere in the phrase true glottal stop is optional, while with short vowels only the lax allophone occurs. Further evidence that speech tempo determines the phonetics of the glottal stop in Marquesan was provided during informant sessions when I was checking the (phonemic) spelling of words. True glottal stops would be used with (phonemically) short vowels as the informant said the word slowly and carefully for me, but in a sentence example given immediately after, where the neighbouring vowels were short, the lax allophone would be used.

It seems to me that there is possibly a range of phonetic values for the Marquesan glottal stop from a true stop to a creaky vowel or approximant to a creaky quality on the neighbouring vowels which itself becomes shorter and more difficult to perceive at faster tempos. However, its exact nature awaits clearer acoustic analyses.

3.1.5 Non-phonemic [f], [w] and [y]

[f] is a voiceless labiodental fricative and is not a phoneme in the Ûa Pou dialect. It occurs there only as a borrowing, usually from the southern dialect.¹⁴

When the high glides [y] and [w] occur, they do so predictably, between unlike vowels where the first vowel is articulated higher than the second, and hence they are not phonemes. [w] occurs after back vowels, particularly /u/, while [y] occurs after front vowels, particularly /i/. These glides are not restricted to syllable-medial position and are heard across syllable and word boundaries.

/haakai+ʔia/	[h'a:kaiʔiʔʌ]	'fed'
/ioo/	[iy'ɔ:]	'at, in, in the house of'
/uuee/	[u:w'ɛ:]	'cry'
/puovo/	[puw'ɔvɔ]	'dried up, burnt'
/hakaʔua/	[hʌkʌʔuʷʌ]	'again'
/ikoa/	[ik'ɔʷʌ]	'name'
/ʔu+aumiti#/	[uʷ'ʌum'i:ti]	'grieved'
/aaʔee+au+e+koʔana///	[a:ʔ'ɛ: 'ʌuʷɛkoʔ 'a:nʌ]	'I am unable'

¹³ As opposed to (phonological) phrase-initial glottal stops whose length cannot be measured because they are preceded by pause.

¹⁴ Historically /f/ has been replaced by /h/ in the northern dialect. For example, /faʔe/ and /pakafio/ in the south are /haʔe/ and /pakahio/ in the north. However, there are several examples of borrowings from French and English in the northern dialect which include [f] e.g. /fiva/ 'fever'; /kaafei/ 'coffee' (Fr. *café*).

3.2 Junctures

In this section I will discuss three distinct phonetic phenomena which, while they differ from the segmental phonemes in that their distinctive features extend across or are superimposed on them, are considered to be similarly contrastive, which is to say that they are meaningful.

Casual listening to recordings of Marquesan speech is sufficient to show that it is broken by stretches of silence, which may be very brief or of some duration. I will refer to these stretches of silence as junctures. More careful analysis reveals distinctive differences among junctures, and that they do not occur randomly, but at points which are grammatically relevant. I recognise three different types of juncture, distinguished from each other by phonetic features which, as already mentioned, may extend across several segmental phonemes. They are called final juncture (indicated in the transcriptions by #), non-final juncture (//) and plus juncture (+). Final juncture occurs, typically, at the end of an utterance or a syntactic sentence; non-final juncture always occurs at the end of a syntactic phrase.¹⁵ Their meanings are respectively 'end of sentence or utterance' and 'non-end of sentence or utterance'. In the case of final and non-final juncture, their association with specific meanings is another difference between these junctures and the segmental phonemes. Plus juncture occurs, typically, within a phonological phrase (whose boundaries are either # or //) at the end of phonological words. The following sections will discuss the phonetic features of these pause phenomena.

3.2.1 Final juncture

Final juncture, #, is marked by steeply falling pitch and decreasing loudness in the intonation contour that defines the phonological phrase, culminating in a period of silence which may be quite short or (in the case of utterance end) infinitely long. The final vowel in a phrase with final juncture is, in most cases, devoiced while the penultimate vowel is prosodically lengthened.

/#naʔu+i+tutu+te+ʔama#/
 [n'ʌ~u i t'tutu te ? "ɑ::mʌ]
Na -ù i tutu te àma.
 of I past light DEF lamp
 'I lit the lamp.'

//ʔe+vehine+menike#/
 [~eveh'inemen"i::kɛ]
 ... è vehine menike.
 INDEF woman american
 '... an American woman.'

¹⁵ In normal and fast speech, non-final juncture is often not articulated at the end of every syntactic phrase. As a result there may be several syntactic phrases in one phonological phrase.

//me+te+kaa#
 [mɛtɛk"ɑ.]
 ... *me te k̄ā*,
 with DEF sail
 '... with the sail,'
 /#ʔua+mate+kooʔua+i+te+oke#/
 [uʷ'ʌm'ʌtɛk'ɔ:ʔuʷʌ itɛ"ɔ::kɛ]
 Ūa mate kōūa i te oke.
 PFV die 2DU STATAG DEF hunger
 'You (2) are dying of hunger.'

3.2.2 Non-final juncture

Non-final juncture, //, is marked by brief silence or near silence following rising or steady pitch in the intonation contour. There is also a slight drop in the loudness of the final vowel although voicing in that vowel is retained. The vowel penultimate to // (like that with #) is prosodically lengthened. A period of near silence (as opposed to silence) during // often occurs when like vowels precede and follow //. The two vowels are heard almost as a long vowel, although the slight decrease in volume of the first vowel and rearticulation of the second is still audible. Where vowels on either side of // are unlike, the two vowels are, typically, articulated separately but in very close succession, although non-final juncture can, occasionally, be of appreciable length.

#ʔua+heʔe+au/ /ioo+he+ihepe#
 [~uʷ'ʌh'ɛ~ɛ"ɑ::u iy'ɔ:hɛih"ɛ::pɛ]
 Ūa hee au iō he ihepe.
 PFV go I LOC INDEF ship
 'I went to the ship.'
 #heʔe+mai/ /ioo+he+vahi+maʔu#
 [h'ɛ~ɛm"ɑ::i iy'ɔ:hɛv'ʌhi m"ɑ::ʔu]
 Hee mai iō he vahi maū.
 go hither LOC INDEF place shady
 'Come into the shady place.'

3.2.3 Plus juncture

The third type of juncture, plus juncture, +, always occurs at the end of a morpheme or phonological word and marks a point of possible pause, often not actualised, between vowels or between a vowel and a consonant. In some cases, the only phonetic indication of the presence of plus juncture is the presence of stress on the syllables preceding and following the juncture which would not be present if the juncture was not there.¹⁶ Between vowels, + is sometimes characterised as open transition. Vowels preceding and following +, except like

¹⁶ Syllable stress is predictable once all three juncture types are defined. See §3.6.1.

vowels, are articulated separately and do not condition each other to the extent that vowels in close transition do. Like vowels on either side of + are heard as a long vowel.

+hana+ananu+	'do again'
[h'ʌnɑ:n'ʌnu]	
//me+te+nuhe+e+ʔua//	'with two dogs'
[mɛtɛn'uɬɛ:ʔ"u::wʌ]	
+haka+tepeiʔu+	'queen'
[h'ʌkʌtɛp'eɪʔu]	
//o+ia+	'this is'
[o'iyʌ]	
+toitoi+	'true'
[tɔɪt'ɔɪ]	

The interval on a spectrogram corresponding to + between vowels appears as a slight disturbance in the harmonics of the vowels.¹⁷

3.3 Syllables

Phonological words in Marquesan are made up of syllables of the shape (C)V(V). A short syllable has the shape (C)V and a long syllable (C)VV. Syllable boundaries occur before every consonant, before every juncture and after every second vowel counting from the beginning of the syllable.

<i>l</i>	past	<i>au</i>	'I, me'
<i>na</i>	'of'	<i>pao</i>	'finished'
<i>ka.ve</i>	'take'	<i>â.ê</i>	negative
<i>mo.tua</i>	'father'	<i>ā.vai</i>	'meet'
<i>tia.ki</i>	'wait for'	<i>tā.ua</i>	'we'
<i>i.koa</i>	'name'		
<i>ou.o.ho</i>	'hair'	<i>au.mi.ti</i>	'grieve'
<i>me.à.ma</i>	'moon'	<i>kai.kai.ā</i>	'demon'
<i>ā.nau.nau</i>	'chant'	<i>o.ì.o.ì</i>	'morning'
		/oʔi+oʔi/	
<i>a.na.i.ho</i>	'only'	<i>ò.ia</i>	'this is'
/ana+iho/		/ʔo+ia/	
<i>pa.a.tai</i>	'salt'	<i>toi.toi</i>	'true'
<i>me.ai.ti</i>	'very small'		
<i>ha.ka.ì.te</i>	'inform'	<i>mo.tu.mo.tu</i>	'all cut up'
caus + see			
<i>a.vei.ti.na</i>	'meeting'	<i>hu.u.hu.u</i>	'feathers'
meet + dn		/huʔuhuʔu/	

¹⁷ Biggs (1961:12) noted a similar reading for his Māori data.

ha.a.me.ta.ù 'afraid'
 caus + fear
ha.a.hi.ti.po.na 'explain'

3.4 Phoneme distribution

Consonants occur syllable-initially only. In the corpus, all possible consonant–vowel combinations occur with the exception of the sequence /vu/. (See the phoneme descriptions for examples.)

Vowels occur syllable-initially, -medially and -finally. All possible (two) vowel combinations occur within a long syllable including geminate vowels.

3.5 Penultimate vowel extension

One of the first things to strike me when I heard the Marquesan language was the regular occurrence of vowels which were much longer than even geminate vowels.¹⁸ It struck me because it was quite different from any phonetic feature I had heard in Māori, Hawaiian or Tahitian. My initial impression that this was a suprasegmental rather than a segmental feature was confirmed when it turned out that there is just one of these vowels in every phonological phrase and it is always the penultimate vowel of the phrase. It also turned out that the phonetic difference between single and geminate vowels was neutralised where these very long vowels occurred.

Penultimate vowel extension is a feature of the Marquesan language which its speakers, on reflection, often consider is a very special part of their language. Toti Teikiehuupoko (n.d.a:1) comments, for example, that this long vowel is what gives Marquesan its specific rhythm and particular music and poetry. Of other authors writing about Marquesan, Elbert made a passing mention of what he called vowel lengthening, noting that it occurred on the penultimate vowel in a phrase. But he said it occurred only on Ūa Pou. Several other authors mention stress and accent and I suspect in several cases that they are in fact referring to vowel extension. Raapoto (1994:14) describes vowel lengthening as a manifestation of 'rhythmic stress'; Teikiehuupoko (n.d.a:1) says it is a fundamental characteristic of stress but recognises that in phrases it marks the end of each 'sense group'; Dumond-Fillon (1992:44) says it marks primary stress.¹⁹ While it does often occur with other suprasegmental features such as stress or, in the opposite direction, declination of pitch and amplitude accompanying

¹⁸ This feature is present in the speech of all the speakers of all the Marquesan dialects for which I have recordings.

¹⁹ Mutu (2000) analyses these works in some detail, noting the problems that arise from each of the analyses as a result of their failing to distinguish between stress and penultimate vowel extension. However, Teikiehuupoko recognises that for trisyllabic words, where stress and vowel extension are less likely to coincide, vowel lengthening has the effect of demarcating the boundary of the word. For sentence stress he states that in each 'sense group' (presumably a syntactic phrase), stress falls on the main word, adding 'however, there is always a lengthening which has a value of demarcating the end of each sense group' (n.d.a:6, my translation). In this respect he concurs with my analysis that penultimate vowel extension marks the pending onset of final or non-final juncture. (Of these three authors, Teikiehuupoko is the only native speaker of Marquesan. Raapoto is a native speaker of Tahitian.)

the onset of the end of an intonational phrase, it can and does occur independently of these other features. The only accompanying feature which is constant is final or non-final juncture.

Penultimate vowel extension is almost unknown elsewhere in Polynesia. Raapoto (1994:15) reports that while visiting Maupiti (in the Tahitian group of islands) he heard 10-to-12-year-olds uttering sentences with exactly the same 'stress characteristics' as those known for Marquesan. He postulates that, given the relative physical isolation of both Maupiti and the Marquesan communities from other Polynesian communities, they may have conserved a feature that other Polynesian languages have lost. Certainly, I can find no other reference to this phenomenon for any other Polynesian language. Elbert does mention, for Hawaiian, that stressed vowels may be slightly longer than unstressed vowels but does not mention anything similar to what he obviously heard in Marquesan. Definitive accent in Tongan, which involves vowel lengthening, has been described (see Churchward 1985; Clark 1974 and Conдах 1989) but it is restricted to definite noun phrases. Dougherty also mentions vowel lengthening in West Futunan, but there it is used to indicate emphasis. Locative accent in Samoan, which also involves vowel lengthening, has also been discussed (see Churchward 1951; Pratt 1960; Campbell 1973; Hovdhaugen 1985 and Conдах 1990) but is restricted to words referring to a definite place.

The penultimate vowel in a phonological phrase in Marquesan is absolutely longer than any other vowel in the phrase. Evidence to support this is readily available from spectrograms. In the following examples, the duration of each phonological segment is given in milliseconds as measured from spectrograms.

[U 'wΛ p "a:: ɔ t 'a: t 'a: t ɔu t ε k "a:: ɔ]
 100 70 110 200 100 100 130 80 110 95 150 100 55 130 290 80
 /#ʔua+pao//taa+taatou+tekao#/
 Ūa pao tā tātou tekao.
 PFV finish POSS 1DU.INC talk
 'Our talk has finished.'

[m 'ε Λ n u n "u:: w i t 'ε: ʔ 'a: m e "i:: k Λ]
 65 70 45 90 95 90 180 40 70 70 90 50 100 110 90 200 100 90
 /#mea+nunui//teeʔaa+meika#/
 Mea nunui tēā meika.
 thing REDUP big that banana
 'That banana is big.'

[u 'wΛ m 'Λ t ε ʔ ɔu t 'ɔu i t ε "ɔ:: k ε]
 100 45 40 100 90 80 50 120 100 140 90 80 80 160 20 90
 /#ʔua+mate+ʔoutou+i+te+oke#/
 Ūa mate òtoui te oke.
 PFV die 2PL STATAG DEF hunger
 'You are hungry.'

Work on the duration of speech sounds has been carried out in several experiments. Lehiste (1970:13) concludes from several published experimental results that of 'the range of durations of speech sounds — usually 30 to about 300 msec — just noticeable differences in duration are between 10 and 40 msec'. Although these Marquesan vowels seem abnormally long at first impression, their duration does fall within the normal bounds of duration, albeit at the upper end of the scale. In the above examples the penultimate vowel before # or // is at least 20 msec longer than any other segment (and here I have included geminate vowels and rising diphthongs as single segments because the boundary between the two vowels is not distinguishable on the spectrogram). In most cases the difference is much greater than the top limit of 40 msec for a just noticeable difference. Thus in addition to the vowel extension giving absolutely longer vowels, the extra length is also very noticeable and will hence be perceived differently from other vowel segments, including long vowels.

An extended vowel will be heard in every phonological phrase except where the final vowel in the phrase is long. According to the geminate analysis for long vowels given here (see §3.1.3), vowel extension should occur on this final vowel since it occupies both the final and the penultimate positions in the phrase. In fact, the vowel retains its usual length and has no extra lengthening. At the same time, no other vowel in the phrase is extended. However, the final geminate vowel carries the phrase stress,²⁰ and, before final pause, a geminate vowel is shortened somewhat. For example:

/na+t	aa ua+i+teenei+?	aa#	
	120	90 (msecs)	'for us today.'

/te+va ² a	+me+te+k	aa#	
	70	100 (msecs)	'the canoe and the sail.'

/t	ee	n	ei+?	aa ///	
	130		120	140 (msecs)	'this day'

However, this shortening is consistent with the phonetic feature of final-vowel devoicing which occurs on vowels preceding final pause.²¹

Thus, although these final geminate vowels do occupy the penultimate position in the phrase, they do not share the vowel extension feature with other penultimate vowels. However, they often carry phrase stress.

²⁰ While phrase stress most commonly occurs on the extended vowel (see §3.6.2) it can occur elsewhere for purposes of emphasis.

²¹ See §3.1.3.

3.6 Stress²²

In Marquesan two types of stress are heard, word stress and phrase stress. Word stress is predictable as is phrase stress when it is not being used for emphasis purposes.

3.6.1 Word stress

The majority of phonological words in Marquesan consist of one, two or three syllables. Within such phonological words, stress occurs on the last long vowel, or, in three-syllable words, on the first long vowel, or, if there is no long vowel, on the last diphthong, or, if there is no diphthong, on the penultimate syllable of the word.²³ All single short-syllable words are, as this rule predicts, unstressed. All the examples below are of words occurring before plus juncture, rather than final or non-final juncture (where penultimate vowel extension lengthens the penultimate vowel). Biggs (1978:699) pointed out that 'single words said alone are final phrases, and stressed accordingly' which, for Marquesan, introduces lengthening of the penultimate vowel and has given rise to the belief that penultimate vowel extension is a manifestation of stress. Stress placement does not change before final or non-final juncture.

Single syllable words:

/te/	[tɛ]	DEF
/haa/	[h'a:]	'four'
/ao/	[ʼʌɔ]	'cloud'

Two syllable words:

/mata/	[m'ʌtʌ]	'eye'
/hetuu/	[hɛt'u:]	'star'
/peʔau/	[pɛʔʌu]	'speak'
/taatou/	[t'a:tɔu]	'we'
/paotuu/	[pʌɔt'u:]	'all'
/haika	[h'ʌɪkʌ]	'medicine'
/koopuu/	[kɔ:p'u:]	'stomach'
/kaukau/	[kʌuk'ʌu]	'bathe'

²² This section draws extensively on the very detailed notes made by Toti Teikiehuupoko on Marquesan word stress for words of three or less syllables, and phrase stress (Teikiehuupoko n.d.a) and differs considerably from my 1990 description. He produced his description having read my 1990 work. It is clear that the native speaker of Marquesan perceives stress in his own language differently from me, although I indicated (Mutu 1990:43) that determination of stress placement in Marquesan was not a straightforward matter. Williams (1989) reaches the same conclusion for Welsh as a result of native speakers of English wrongly identifying stress placement in Welsh. Furthermore, Laver (1994:513) notes that 'the phonetic realisation of lexical stress in different languages can differ widely'. However my overall analysis of stress in Marquesan does differ from Teikiehuupoko's because I consider penultimate vowel extension and stress to be two distinct features (which often occur in the same place in a phonological phrase) and Teikiehuupoko considers that penultimate vowel extension is a manifestation of stress. When this is not the case (and stress occurs elsewhere than the penult) Teikiehuupoko says these are exceptions. Distinguishing the two features accounts for these exceptions.

²³ A phonological word is made up of all the segments which occur between any two consecutive junctures. (See §3.2.)

/haka+ʔite/ CAUS+see	[h'ʌkʌ'ite]	'show'
/aavei+tina/ meet+DN	[ʔa:veit'inʌ]	'meeting'
/motu+motu/ cut+cut	[m'ʊtum'ʊtu]	'cut about'
/nu+nui/ REDUP+big	[nun'uwi]	'big'

Three syllable words:

/puaʔa/	[puw'ʌ~ʌ]	'pig'
/vehine/	[vɛh'ine]	'woman'
/keitani/	[k'eitʌni]	'jealous'
/kanahau/	[kʌnʌh'ʌu]	'beautiful'
/maamaʔi/	[m'a:mʌ~i]	'egg'
/kaikaiaa/	[kʌikʌi'a:]	'demon'
/paaʔaiʔai/	[p'a:ʔʌiʔʌ i]	species of fish
/paakookoo/	[p'a:kʊ:kʊ:]	'knock (at door)'

Further work needs to be carried out to check stress patterns for three-syllable words of different shapes and for the comparatively rare words of four syllables or more in length.

3.6.2 *Phrase stress*

There is, generally, one stressed syllable in a phrase which will be more prominent than the others. This prominence is called the phrase stress and in many cases it falls on the penultimate lengthened vowel in the phrase. However, phrase stress may occur on one of the other stressed syllables with the meaning 'contrastive emphasis', in which case its occurrence is not predictable. The first three examples illustrate the unmarked or usual phrase stress patterns while the last two illustrate the use of phrase stress for contrastive emphasis.

[h'e~ɛm"ɑ:i i'yʊ:hɛv'ʌhi m"ɑ:~ʔu]
 /#heʔe+mai/iʊo+he+vahi+maʔu#/
Hee mai iō he vahi maū.
 go hither LOC INDEF place shade
 'Come into the shade.'

[k'a:~ʊhʌ n'uwi ~ʊt'ʊu pʌʊt"u:]
 /#kaaʔoha+nui+ʔoutou+paotuu#/
Kāðha nui òutou paotū.
 greeting big 2PL all
 'Greetings to you all.'

[~un'unu? 'iya tɛpuw"ɑ::kλ na tɛ ~ɛn"ɑ::nλ]
 /#?u+nunu+?ia+te+puaka//na+te+enana#/
 Ū nunu -ia te puaka na te enana.
 PFV cook PASS DEF pig AG DEF man
 'The pig was cooked by the man.'

[m'ɔtum'ɔtu tɛkɔɛk"ɔ::ɛ m"ɑ::tɛ ʌn'ʌihɔ ʌɪ]
 /#Motumotu+te+koekoe//mate+anaiho+ai#/
 Motumotu te koekoe, mate anaiho ai.
 cut about DEF intestine die immediately APH
 'The intestines were all cut about and (he) died immediately.'

[t"ɔ::pʌʌn'ʌnu ~ʌ tɛ 'uʌʌ]
 /#Topa+ananu+?a+te+ua#/
 Topa ananu à te ua!
 fall always emphasis DEF rain
 'It's always raining!'

When he was commenting on Polynesian phonological descriptions, Biggs (1978:699) noted 'Everywhere it seems pertinent to distinguish phrase-stress ...' as one degree of stress. Phrase stress, he says, occurs on the penultimate syllable in most Polynesian languages. However, he later postulates that Marquesan probably has a rule similar to Māori, which has phrase-stress rules quite different from the general rule.²⁴ The data to hand supports this with Marquesan stress patterns differing from Māori in not restricting the domain of word stress to the last four vowels.²⁵

3.7 Conclusion

To summarise, the Ūa Pou dialect of Marquesan has fourteen phonemes, nine consonants and five vowels. It also has three non-phonemic segments. Of the consonants particular attention was given to the allophones of the glottal stop. One is a true glottal stop while the other is manifested as laryngealisation on and between the neighbouring vowels. The tempo of the speech seems to be of influence in the distribution of these allophones.

²⁴ See Biggs (1986:122) for these rules.

²⁵ The nature of stress in Marquesan awaits more in-depth investigation, including determination of its acoustic correlates. There is also a question over the possible existence of secondary stress on long syllables that do not carry primary stress. Examination of the acoustic properties of some other Polynesian languages indicates that pitch may be a key correlate of stress. Biggs (1971:471) noted for Māori that 'on spectrograms phrase stress occurs usually (but not invariably) at the point of highest pitch in the phrase. It is always marked by a "high" on the amplitude display'. Conдах (1990:30–31) points out that pitch and length indicate stress in Samoan. Yasuda-Graefe and Graefe (1984) reached the (interim) conclusion for Tongarevan (Penrhyn) that loudness (amplitude) showed no direct relationship to perceived stress. There did, however, seem to be a strong correlation between fundamental frequency and stress. Fundamental frequency is the acoustic correlate of pitch (Laver 1994:451). Unfortunately, fundamental frequency and pitch were not clearly displayed on my Marquesan spectrograms. The observation about fundamental frequency is consistent with Lehiste's (1970:153) findings, which she summarises as 'The perception of stressedness appears to be based on a number of factors, the most influential of which is fundamental frequency'.

Several suprasegmental features were discussed. The necessity to include three junctures in the description was apparent, since stress patterns are determined by these junctures. Also, description of the specifically Marquesan feature of vowel extension required reference to junctures since it occurs on the vowel penultimate to final and non-final juncture. Stress placement in Marquesan is predictable with rules similar to those for Māori. Further investigation is needed to gain a better understanding of the nature of stress in Marquesan.

4 *The verbal phrase*

In this and the following chapters, I will consider the internal structure of the basic syntactic unit of the Ûa Pou dialect, the phrase. This chapter starts with an outline of the structure which is common to all Ûa Pou phrases, before moving on to list and describe the centripetal particles which occur in a VP.

4.1 The structure of the phrase

A phrase consists of a central nucleus plus a preposed and a postposed periphery. The nucleus is that part of the phrase which could be filled minimally by a single, underived base. Semantically speaking the nucleus carries the lexical meaning of the phrase expressed by the base or bases it contains. There may be more than one base in the nucleus, in which case the first base is the head of the nucleus. The peripheries on the other hand are usually filled by words called particles¹ which have grammatical rather than lexical functions. Bases and particles can also be distinguished by the fact that a base can occur alone in the nucleus of a phrase, or can be uttered meaningfully in isolation, while a particle cannot. The order in which particles occur within the peripheries is generally fixed, and hence phrase boundaries can be determined from particle sequences. The particles either further define the nucleus in some way, or indicate the function of the phrase within the sentence. For example, in the sentence

- (4.1) *Mea meitai // à haa-mate // i -a Kae.*
 thing good IN CAUS-die DO PS Kae
 ‘(It would be a) good thing that (someone) kill Kae.’

the nucleus in the first phrase is filled by two (underived) bases *mea* and *meitai* and both peripheries are empty. In the second phrase the nucleus is filled by a derived base, *haamate*, since the causative prefix *haa-* derives an active verb from the Stative verb *mate*. The preposed periphery contains the verbal particle *à*, while the postposed periphery is empty. In the third phrase, the nucleus is filled by the single underived base *Kae*, the preposed periphery contains the case-marking particle *i* and the personal article *-a* and, again, the postposed periphery is empty. In the example:

¹ The only exception is an included or embedded phrase following the determiner position in a noun phrase (see §5.1.1).

- (4.2) À nonoho ai // hua mau ènana nei.
 IN live APH that DU person now
 'Those two people just lived together.'

the nucleus of the first phrase contains the partially reduplicated base *nonoho* while the preposed periphery contains the particle *à* and the postposed periphery contains *ai*. The nucleus of the second phrase contains the base *ènana*, the anaphoric article *hua* and the dual marker *mau* fill the preposed periphery while the positional particle *nei* fills the postposed periphery.

Phrases are either verbal phrases (VP) or nominal phrases (NP). The presence of one of the tense-aspect particles marks a phrase as verbal but there are other verbal phrase markers such as imperative intonation, the passive suffix and, perhaps, the lack of any indication of nominality. A noun or nominal phrase typically begins with one of the case markers or a determiner. Many, perhaps most, bases may fill the nucleus of both phrase types although bases of certain classes, notably locatives and personals, can occur only in NPs, while some bases occur rarely, if ever, in NPs. As can be seen from Table 4.2 and Table 5.2, the postposed peripheries are very similar with the notable exception that the particle *ai* can only occur in a VP.

The discussion of the structure and content of phrases will be dealt with in three parts. In this chapter and the next I will discuss the centripetal particles, that is the particles which define in some way the nucleus of VPs and NPs respectively. The centrifugal particles which relate the phrase to other parts of the discourse and require some discussion of syntax are dealt with separately in Chapters 6 and 7.

In this chapter the discussion begins with the verbal particles which initiate VPs and continues on through the phrase in the order of occurrence of the various particles.

4.2 Verbal particles and the Ûa Pou tense/aspect/mood system

The verbal particles,² which define a phrase as verbal, form a class of mutually incompatible particles which indicate tense, aspect and/or mood. They initiate a verbal phrase and precede a small class of preverbal modifiers. In these sections the distribution of each of the particles will be considered. With one or two exceptions, I will not be considering the meaning of these particles in any detail, simply because the corpus available to me does not

² Dordillon (1857) describes most of the verbal particles discussed below, and several other particles as well, as various forms of the verb 'to be'. His description is based on the assumption that not only does Marquesan have the same tense/aspect/mood system as French but also that a description of Marquesan which uses the same model then being used to describe French will be an accurate description. Thus, for example, he describes *ù ~ ùa* as a marker of Present tense in the Infinitive, Present, Past Definite, Past Anterior, Pluperfect, Simple Future and Future Anterior in the Indicative mood and Past tense in the Subjunctive mood. *À*, he says, can mark the Present and Future Infinitive, Past Definite in the Indicative, Present and Future in the Imperative, and Present and Future in the Subjunctive (upper case is used here, following Dahl, for terms which indicate language specific categories). Neither of these are accurate descriptions of these particles according to the data I have.

Zewen (1987) for Nuku Hiva, lists most of the particles given here although he labels some differently. His description and examples indicate that there are differences in the use of the particles between Ûa Pou and Nuku Hiva (in particular *e...ana*, *e...aa* and *e...nei* and *or*). He does not include *ea* 'caveat' or *te... nei* 'present' but includes *mei* 'proximatif' which does not occur in Ûa Pou.

allow me to reach detailed and definite conclusions in this area. The main exception is *ù ~ ùa* of which there are a large number of examples in the corpus. Some discussion is also possible for *e*. Table 4.1 lists the verbal particles and preverbal modifiers described and exemplified in the following sections.

Table 4.1: The preposed periphery of the verb phrase

Verbal particles		Preverbal modifiers	
<i>i</i>	past	<i>āte</i>	'carefully, slowly'
<i>te...nei</i>	present	<i>ana</i>	diminutive
<i>ù~ùa</i>	perfective	<i>tē</i>	negative, diminutive
<i>e</i>	imperfective		
<i>à</i>	inceptive		
<i>ia</i>	punctative		
<i>oi</i>	(1) 'before, just' (2) 'warning'		
<i>òa</i>	'warning'		
<i>ea</i>	'warning'		
Ø (zero)	substitute verbal particle		

4.2.1 The description of tense/aspect/mood in Polynesian languages

Most post-1960 Polynesian grammars have identified a class of tense/aspect/mood particles which mark at least some of the following categories: past, non-past, present, and future tense; inceptive, progressive, perfect, perfective,³ and imperfective aspect;⁴ indicative imperative, subjunctive, exhortative, and caveat mood. Bauer (1981:52) points out for Māori that discussion of the tense/aspect particles in earlier literature had been 'hampered by such factors as failure to distinguish tense and aspect, lack of an adequate theoretical framework, and interference from Indo-European systems'.

While there seems to be considerable improvement in this respect in recent descriptions⁵, the terms used are rarely discussed, much less defined. However, those who have defined their terms, in particular Bauer (1981), and Hooper (1982), have drawn largely on the work of Bernard Comrie as discussed in his books *Aspect* (1976) and *Tense* (1985).⁶ As their work has clarified the area of tense and aspect in Polynesian languages to a considerable extent, I will follow their lead in this chapter, using Comrie's terms and definitions where possible, as well as drawing on the observations made by Osten Dahl in his *Tense and aspect systems*

³ It is not always clear whether perfect and perfective have been distinguished and in some cases, they may well have been confused.

⁴ Salisbury (1985) distinguishes progressive and imperfective for Pukapukan.

⁵ For example, Elbert and Pukui (1979) discuss the tense/aspect/mood particles in separate sections labelled 'Aspect Markers', 'Tense Markers' and 'Mood Markers' respectively.

⁶ Hooper also draws on several other authors, in particular Mourelatos (1978) and Bache (1982). Bauer was in fact drawing on seminars Comrie delivered on tense prior to the publication of the book.

(1985). For the sections on the mood particles, the discussion is based on Lyons's (1968) section on the topic.

Of the verbal particles in the Ûa Pou dialect, two are tense markers; *i* 'past' and *te...nei* 'present'. The aspect markers are *ù~ûa* 'perfective', *à* 'inceptive', *e* 'imperfective' and *ia* 'punctative'. The mood markers are *à* 'imperative', *ia* 'desiderative', and the caveat particles *oi*, *òa* and *ea*. Of the mood particles, the only ones to occur with any frequency in the texts were *ia* and *à*. Thus not a great deal can be concluded about the others. I have also included a section on the zero marker Ø, which I suspect is a variant of more than one of the verbal particles.

4.2.2 *i* 'past'

I marks absolute past tense,⁷ indicating that the event or state took place in the past (with respect to the present).

- (4.3) *Na te mahai i ui.* LVD 3:8
 of DEF youth past ask
 'It was the youth who asked.'
- (4.4) *Na ia i humu te metau iō he puka.* LVD 25:6
 of she past attach DEF hook LOC DEF coral
 'It was she who attached the hook to some coral.'
- (4.5) *Ia nui te tumu èhi i pao*
 when many DEF tree coconut past completed
ì te piki ... LV3 1059:11
 LOC DEF climb
 'When enough coconut trees were climbed ...'

In some of the examples in the texts, *i* marks a situation which occurred in the past but continues into the present.⁸

- (4.6) *Ò koe te i kite.* LV2 9:17
 FOC you(SG) rel past know
 'You are the one who knows.'

I occurs frequently with *ai*, indicating that a reason is being asked for or given. The cause for the resulting action or state marked by *ai* is often given in earlier sentences in the discourse, and is not always immediately obvious from single sentence examples such as some of those given below (see Chapter 7 on *ai*).

⁷ Comrie (1985:9) distinguishes absolute and relative tense where tense is 'the grammaticalised expression of location in time'. Absolute tense is 'interpreted to mean a tense which includes as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic centre; whereas relative tense ... refers to a tense which does not include as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic centre' (1985:36). Thus an absolute past tense is past with respect to the present while a relative past is past with respect to some other point in time, indicated perhaps by a time adverbial.

⁸ Comrie (1985:41) notes that 'the use of the past tense only locates the situation in the past, without saying whether that situation continues to the present or into the future ...'

- (4.7) *He aha te tumu i ui ai i -a au ...* LVD 19:2
 INDEF what DEF reason past ask APH LOC -PS me
 'Why did you ask me ...'
- (4.8) *I taki hakaia ai te moa.* LVD 21:15
 past call again APH DEF chicken
 'Thus the cock crowed again.'
- (4.9) *I maakau ai na tama i t- o aua*
 past think APH DP.DEF son DO DEF- of they(DU)
maakau hauhau. TUA 2:5
 think bad
 'Then the sons thought a fearful thought.'
- (4.10) *I tīahi ā i tihe mai ai è*
 LOC a.certain day past arrive hither APH INDEF
ua ènana ... LVD 101:1
 two man
 'One day, two men arrived ...'
- (4.11) *I te hemo-ia, i kave -ia ai iō Apekuà ...*
 LOC DEF capture-DN past carry PASS APH LOC Apekuà
 'When (he) was captured, (he) was carried to Apekuà's (house) ...'

I is the only verbal particle which occurs in negatives referring to past time.

- (4.12) *Āē au i kite è veinehae ...* LVD 31:4
 NEG I past see INDEF evil-spirit
 'I did not see an evil spirit ...'

4.2.3 *te...nei* 'present'

This tense marker does not occur in the texts.⁹ However my informants used it occasionally and noted that it was definitely an Ūa Pou form (as opposed to, say, a borrowing from Tahitian). It indicates that the action or state is beginning to happen in the immediate present and so it can be classified as an absolute rather than relative tense marker in Comrie's terms.¹⁰

- (4.13) *Te kai nei ia i tēnā ika.*
 DEF eat now he DO that fish
 '(Now) he eats that fish.'
- (4.14) *Te kave nei au i t- ā koe poo puaka.*
 DEF bring now I DO DEF of you(SG) piece pig
 '(Now) I bring you a piece of pork.'

⁹ Zewen (1987) does not list it as a verbal particle for Nuku Hiva.

¹⁰ MQA *te... nei* does not include progressive aspect in its meaning as its cognates in other Eastern Polynesian languages do. Hence its use in Marquesan is far less common than that of its cognates in Tahitian, Hawaiian and Rarotongan (see §4.2.13).

- (4.15) *Ò au te hee nei i te ika hī.*
 FOC I DEF go now LOC DEF fish fish(v)
 '(Now) I go to fish.'
- (4.16) *Te maakau nei au i tuu kui.*
 DEF think now I LOC my mother
 '(Now) I think of my mother.'

4.2.4 *ù ~ àa* 'perfective'

Ù ~ àa is the most frequently occurring verbal particle in the Lavondès texts.¹¹

The two forms are in complementary distribution with *ù* occurring when the rest of the phrase contains more than two vowels, and *àa* otherwise. Its distribution is restricted to main clauses in that it does not occur

1. after negatives
2. in actor emphatic constructions
3. in relative clauses
4. with the particle *ai*¹²

- (4.17) *Ù hānau au i Hakahetau.* LV3 1250:2
 PFV born I LOC Hakatehetau
 'I was born at Hakahetau.'
- (4.18) *Àa hee tēnā vehine, ù tiōhi.* LV3 1251:1
 PFV go that woman PFV look
 'That woman went and looked.'
- (4.19) *Me he mea me te înai, àa nunu.* LV3 1059:2
 if INDEF thing with DEF meat PFV cook
 'If there is meat, (he) will cook (it).'
- (4.20) *Àa pao, ù hua hakaàa mai te kui ...* LVD 19:11
 PFV finish PFV return again hither DEF mother
 'When (he) finished, the mother returned again ...'

In each of the above examples *ù ~ àa* indicates that the situation depicted by the following verb is viewed as a single, complete event. The type of situation it marks corresponds fairly closely with what both Comrie (1976) and Dahl (1985) refer to as perfective aspect. In particular, the part of Comrie's (1976:3) definition of perfective aspect which refers to no attempt being made to consider the different phases of the situation such as the beginning, middle or end applies to *ù ~ àa*.

¹¹ In Lavondès 1 and 2, there are 1249 instances of *ù* and 1251 of *àa*. The most frequently occurring item is the definite article *te* (3303) with *ù~àa* next, followed by the multifunctional *i*.

¹² Similar restrictions occur with the cognates of *ù ~ àa* in Tahitian (see Copenrath & Prévost 1974:175), Hawaiian (see Elbert & Pukui 1979:58) and Māori where

- (a) *kua* → *kia* / negative _
- (b) in actor emphatic constructions only *i, e* or *ka* occur
- (c) *kua* does not generally occur in embedded clauses (Chung 1978:21) (although Bauer 1981:66 has pointed out that Māori *kua* can be used in relative clauses).

Although the event or state being described is usually located in the past, *ù ~ ùa* marked verbs can denote present or future, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (4.21) *Oioi, ùa hee koe.*
tomorrow PFV go you(SG)
'Tomorrow, you will have gone.'
- (4.22) *Veve mai, à tihe atu ana koe, ùa hee te ihepe.*
hurry hither IN arrive thither CONT you(SG) PFV go DEF ship
'Hurry up! By the time you arrive the ship will have gone.'

The time of the event/state in any particular instance is determined by the context. Thus *ù ~ ùa* cannot be described as a marker of absolute tense (in Comrie's terms) and it is doubtful whether it marks relative tense. Its primary function is as a marker of aspect. With statives it indicates that the state has come into being.

- (4.23) *Ùa menino te tai.*
PFV calm DEF sea
'The sea is (has become) calm.'
- (4.24) *Û kamaïi au i te metaki.*
PFV cold I STATAG DEF wind
'I am cold because of the wind.'

Many authors, for example Comrie (1976), Hopper (1979), Li, Thompson and Thompson (1982), have noted that the perfective is used to relate or narrate events. While the above examples illustrate *ù ~ ùa* in single sentences, its most frequent use is in narrative text to indicate each of the actions or events in a sequence of actions or events, marking the main story-line events in much the same way that *ka* does in Māori narrative.¹³

- (4.25) *Ia pao tēia, ùa too i te kohe, haakoi, ùa too*
when finish this PFV get DO DEF knife sharpen PFV get
i te pokoo kohe, ù kokomoi te kohe ì òto,
DO DEF scabbard knife PFV sheath DEF knife LOC inside
ùa humu iō he kooi, ùa too i te koko me
PFV tie LOC INDEF waist PFV get DO DEF scoop.knife with
te puhipuhi piki ehi ... LV3 1059:7
DEF crampon climb coconut.tree
When that is finished, (he) gets the knife and sharpens it, gets the scabbard, puts the knife in it, (and) ties it at his waist. (He) gets the scoop knife and the tree-climbing crampons ... (translation: J. Kirkpatrick)

4.2.4.1 The choice of perfective rather than perfect

The term 'perfective' rather than 'perfect' has been chosen deliberately to describe *ù ~ ùa*. In this section I will discuss my reasons for doing so. As I have said above, perfective aspect can be defined as 'the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various

¹³ See Bauer (1981:62).

separate phases that make up the situation' (Comrie 1976:16). In the literature, it is generally agreed that perfective is used among other things to indicate foregrounded or main story-line events (Hopper 1979), to relate or narrate events (Li, Thompson & Thompson 1982), and to denote 'complete' as opposed to 'completed' actions or events (Comrie 1976). Dahl (1985:78) summarised his observations of perfective in 45 languages saying 'A PFV verb will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalysed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded'.

The perfect, on the other hand, indicates 'the continuing present relevance of a past situation' (Comrie 1976:52) with 'the essence of the Perfect [being] its function of relating events/states to a Reference Time, either to the time of the narrative or to the time of the speech act' (Li, Thompson & Thompson 1982:19). Hooper (n.d.) has pointed out in her discussion of perfect in Tokelauan that 'recent anterior event' is a basic meaning of perfect with current relevance often attributed. Bauer (1997:117) notes that Māori *kua* used as a perfect aspect marker can be used to indicate a past event with present relevance.

However, for the Ūa Pou dialect,¹⁴ the function of *ù ~ ùa* is quite different from that of its Māori or Tokelauan cognate, where the use of the term perfect is appropriate, and the difference does seem to be well described in the perfect versus perfective distinction. Dahl's comment sums the situation up well: '... the most striking difference [between perfect and perfective] is in narrative contexts ... Perfect is very rarely used narratively, whereas several of the prototypical cases of Perfective belong to these contexts' (Dahl 1985:139). As mentioned above, the most frequent use of *ù ~ ùa* is as the typical marker of sequential events in narrative discourse.

4.2.5 *à* 'inceptive'

The verbal particle *à* has at least two distinct functions. It is a marker of inceptive aspect on the verb on one hand and the marker of the imperative mood on the other. Its first function is discussed in this section, the second in §4.2.8 below.

My use of the term 'inceptive' to describe the first function of *à* follows Biggs's (1973:34) use of the term for Māori *ka* and Coppenrath and Prévost's (1974:177) use of it for Tahitian *à*. *À* in Marquesan as an aspect marker indicates the start or onset of an event or state and is frequently preceded by *âtahi* 'then, only then'.¹⁵ In the texts, *à* marking inceptive aspect rarely occurred without *âtahi* and, in this context, always denoted past time.

- (4.26) *Âtahi na tama à kite ai ò te motua iho*
 then DP.DEF son IN see APH FOC DEF father REF
te kamo. TUA 3:5
 DEF thief
 'Then the sons knew that it was their own father who was the thief.'

¹⁴ And also for the Nuku Hiva dialect since Zewen (1987:43) lists this particle as a marker of perfective aspect where 'l'action est envisagée comme étant accomplie ou l'état est décrit comme étant atteint'.

¹⁵ Compare the Māori construction *kaatahi... ka*. See Biggs (1973:97).

- (4.27) ... *ia pao tāia, âtahi à kai.* LV3 1059:3
 when finish that then IN eat
 '... when that is finished, only then (do they) eat.'
- (4.28) *Âtahi à noho ai hua mau ènana nei.* LV3 883:5
 then IN live APH that DU person here
 'Then those two people just lived together.'

Examples of *à* without *âtahi* indicated future time.

- (4.29) *À hua au ì t- ā tāua ika hī.* LV3 1059:18
 IN return I LOC DEF of we(DU.INC) fish fish(v)
 'I'll go back to do our fishing.'
- (4.30) *Veve mai, à tihe atu ana koe, ùa hee te ihepe.*
 hurry hither IN arrive thither CONT you(SG) PFV go DEF ship
 'Hurry up! By the time you arrive, the ship will be gone.'

4.2.6 *e* 'imperfective'

E indicates that the action or state is on-going and in the present or future. In this respect it stands in opposition to *ù* ~ *ùā* (which indicates a complete action or entry into a state, usually in the past).¹⁶ Hence I have glossed *e* 'imperfective'. Some uses of *e* can be glossed 'relative non-past tense' or 'relative future tense'.

- (4.31) *E hee koe ì hea?* LVD 31:16
 IMPF go you(SG) LOC where
 'Where are you going?'
- (4.32) *Na âua e haki mai i -a koe pehea.* LVD 35:12
 of they(DU) IMPF tell hither DO PS you(SG) how
 'These two will tell you how.'
- (4.33) *Oioi, e nunu Rosita i te kaikai ènana.*
 Tomorrow IMPF cook Rosita DO DEF food man
 'Tomorrow Rosita will cook Marquesan food.'
- (4.34) *E hano au ì te moi tiòhi...* LVD 3:11
 IMPF go I LOC DEF girl see
 'I am going to see the girl ...'

E is the only verbal particle which occurs in future negatives.

- (4.35) *Âôê au e inu i tēnā mea.* LVD 29:6
 NEG I IMPF drink DO that thing
 'I will not drink that stuff.'

E is also used to mark habitual¹⁷ actions as in:

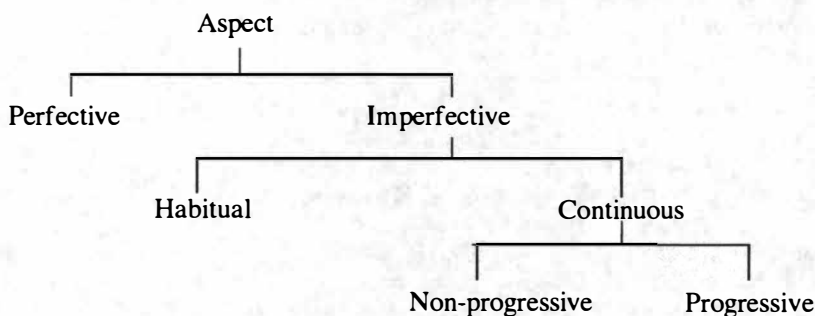
¹⁶ See §4.2.4.

¹⁷ Comrie (1976:25).

- (4.36) E kai òe i te ènana? LVD 5:6
 IMPF eat you(SG) DO DEF people
 'Do you eat humans?'
- (4.37) E topa ananu à te ua!
 IMPF fall always INT DEF rain
 'It is always raining!'
- (4.38) Te ture iō tēā henua ia tihe te manihii,
 DEF law LOC that land when arrive DEF visitors
e tuku te vehine na te manihii. LVD 101:6
 IMPF give DEF woman for DEF visitors
 'The law in that land is that when visitors arrive, a woman is given for them.'
- When *e* is accompanied by *ana* ~ *aa* or *nei*, it marks an on-going or continuous situation. These forms occur commonly in relative clauses.
- (4.39) Û tatai ia i te vehine e taa nei ...
 PFV chase he DO DEF woman IMPF cry here
 'He chased the woman who was crying ...'
- (4.40) E inu aa, i pao -ia ai e te hakaiki. LVD 29:17
 IMPF drink CONT past strike PASS APH AG DEF chief
 'While (he) was drinking he was hit by the chief.'
- (4.41) Ênā e noho nei te motua ò Teheua te ikoa.
 There IMPF live now DEF father FOC Teheua DEF name
 'The father, Teheua, is still living.'
- (4.42) E keu ana te tau tōiki.
 IMPF play CONT DEF PL child
 'The children are playing.'
- (4.43) E tekao nei tāua.
 IMPF talk now we(DU.INC)
 'We are talking.'

The use of *e* corresponds closely with what Comrie (1976:25) describes as imperfective aspect. Comrie's characterisation of imperfective includes both habitual and continuous as subcategories in the following manner:

Classification of aspectual oppositions (Comrie 1976:25)



Although Dahl questions whether habituality is just a special division of imperfectivity, he is broadly in agreement with Comrie's analysis and notes as a general observation that imperfective aspect tends to be associated with 'non-past' tense (while perfective is more generally associated with 'past').¹⁸

4.2.7 *ia* 'when'

The verbal particle *ia* is a subjunctive particle in that it only occurs in subordinate clauses.¹⁹ It has at least two distinct functions. It is a marker of punctative aspect, glossed 'when' on one hand, and a marker of desiderative mood on the other. Its first function is outlined in this section and the second in §4.2.9.

Ia 'when' occurs in subordinate clauses indicating the point in time when the action is completed or the state achieved, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (4.44) *Ia mākona mei te kai, ù peàu te vehine ...* LVD 883:4
 when full from DEF food PFV say DEF woman
 'When (they) are full from eating, the wife says ...'
- (4.45) *Ia hiamoe te ènana ātahi à hano ...* LVD 93:7
 when sleep DEF people then IN go
 'When the people are asleep, then (we) will go ...'
- (4.46) *Ia tihe mai, àua e tuku hakaàa ...* LVD 83:21
 when arrive hither NEG.IMP IMPF let.go again
 'When (she) arrives, do not let her go again ...'
- (4.47) *No èià, âê toi oko, ia ìì te ika, tukutuku,*
 of there NEG pull INT when strong DEF fish let.go
ia māeka te ìì, ātahi à toi. LV3 1060:22
 when diminish DEF strong then IN pull
 'Hence, (he) doesn't pull hard when the fish is energetic, (he) gives (line).
 When its energy has lessened, then he pulls.'

4.2.8 *à* 'imperative'

In this and the following sections I will consider each of the verbal particles which indicate mood.

Lyons (1968) speaks of mood in a language as 'a set of one or more grammatical devices for "marking" sentences according to the speaker's commitment with respect to the factual

¹⁸ Dahl lists Māori *e V ana* as progressive, which is a category defined as having the combination of progressive meaning and non-stative meaning (Comrie 1976:35; Dahl's characterisation of progressive is the same as Comrie's in the above diagram). Thus statives typically occur with non-progressive aspect. However, Māori *e V ana* occurs with both actions and states and therefore is continuous rather than progressive.

¹⁹ Although subjunctive is traditionally regarded as a mood, Lyons (1968:313) points out that 'the term "subjunctive" of itself carries no implication of modality' and 'one might quite reasonably use the term "subjunctive" to refer to that set of forms which is more or less restricted to subordinate clauses'.

status of what he is saying (his emphatic certainty, his uncertainty or doubt, etc.)'. He includes both imperative and interrogative sentences under mood as well as 'wish' and 'intention', 'necessity' and 'obligation', and 'certainty' and 'possibility' where these are expressed using grammatical devices.

In the Ūa Pou dialect, some but not all mood distinctions are made by verbal particles. Other grammatical devices used to express mood include (for example) conjunctions such as *etika* 'so that', *me he mea* 'if – future', and *ai'a* 'if – past', and postposed particles such as (lexical) *ai* 'sure, certain' and *oti* 'perhaps'. As I mentioned earlier, the verbal particles which distinguish different types of mood are *à* 'imperative', *ia* 'desiderative' and the caveat particles *oi*, *òà* and *ea*.

À can indicate that the verb is being used imperatively.^{20, 21} *À* used imperatively is usually accompanied by imperative intonation.

- (4.48) *À hano, à kapu te vai iō he hue vai!*
 IMP go IMP scoop DEF water LOC INDEF shell water
 'Go, scoop up some water in a watershell!'
- (4.49) *À haapeipei koe t- -ā tāua èhi!* LVD 1059:19
 IMP prepare you(SG) DEF of we(DU.INC) coconut
 'Prepare our coconut!'
- (4.50) *À hee iō te taute!*
 IMP go LOC DEF doctor
 'Go to the doctor!'
- (4.51) *À tuku te haamani ì te pāhoè.*
 IMP send DEF book LOC DEF girl
 'Give the book to the girl.'

4.2.9 *ia* 'desiderative'

The mood marker *ia*²² occurs in subordinate clauses indicating that it would be desirable for something to happen. It can often be translated 'so that'.

- (4.52) *Mea hana nui, ia haka-pao.*
 thing work big DES CAUS finish
 'Work hard so that (you) will finish.'

Ia can be used with a stative in a simple sentence as follows:

- (4.53) *Ia meitai koe!*
 DES good you(SG)
 'May you be well!'

²⁰ See §4.2.5 for the use of *à* as an inceptive marker.

²¹ Teikiehuupoko (nd.b:1) notes 'L'injonction exprimée par A traduit l'absence d'alternative et refait aussi un caractère contraignant.'

²² See §4.2.7 above for *ia* marking punctative aspect.

- (4.54) *la kanahau t- -ō koutou pohuè -ia.*
 DES beautiful DEF of you(PL) live DN
 'May your life be beautiful.'

4.2.10 *oi* 'just (this minute); warning'

There were very few examples of this verbal particle in the texts although my informants provided examples.²³

'Just (this minute)'

- (4.55) *I hea Mākere? Oi hee iho nei.*
 past where Mākere just go immediately now
 'Where is Makere? She has just gone.'
- (4.56) *È ênā, oi kaò atu nei*
 INDEF that just(this minute) disappear thither now
ênā oti ì uta. DLN 287
 that perhaps LOC mountains
 'Now, (he) has just this minute disappeared, perhaps he is in the mountains.'
- (4.57) *Oi kai iho nei au kapo. DLN 287*
 just eat soon now I just
 'I have just this minute eaten.'

Caveat:

- (4.58) *Pao à hee ì tēnei oi topa mai te ua.*
 finish IMP go LOC this lest fall hither DEF rain
 'Better go now lest it rain.'
- (4.59) *À mau oi topa.*
 IMP hold lest fall
 'Hold on lest (it) fall.'

4.2.11 *òa* and *ea* 'warning'

I have dealt with these two particles in the same subsection because they appear to have the same meaning and distribution. There were very few examples of *òa* in the texts and none of *ea* although my informants supplied me with some.²⁴

²³ Dordillon lists *oi* as also meaning 'while' and there were a couple of examples of this use in the texts. However, my informants found them unacceptable, and offered derived noun constructions instead. Hence in the following example only the second version was acceptable.

**Tēnei vehine, oi noho ì Havaiki ... LVD 1:9*
Tēnei vehine i t-ō ia noho -ia ì Havaiki ... (informant)
 'This woman, while she was living in Havaiki ...'

However, Zewen (1987:37) describes this particle as marking 'l'aspect postfactif' for Nuku Hiva where 'l'action est envisagée comme se déroulant après qu'une autre action a eu lieu'. He makes no mention of this particle indicating 'warning'.

4.2.12 Zero marker (Ø) 'substitute verbal particle'

Throughout the texts there are many examples of verbal phrases with no verbal particle. These zero-marked verbal phrases usually occur in extended sequences of events, replacing *ù ~ ùa* for one or two of the events in a manner which appears to be stylistic.

- (4.65) *Û peàù te vāhana, 'E hee au i te èhi vahi na te mea oko te òumati'. Û peàù te vehine, 'À hee à'. Ûa hano te vāhana i te ihovare, (Ø) toi mai, (Ø) tāpī me te motu pūrīki. Ûa too i te kaka me te tāpī i te ihovare. Ia pao tēia ùa too i te kohe, (Ø) haakoi, ùa too i te pokoo kohe, ù kokomo i te kohe i òto, ùa humu iō he kooi.*
LV3 1059:17

The husband says, 'I'll go and cut copra because the sun is strong'. The wife says, 'Go then'. The man goes to get the horse, brings (it) and puts on the saddle. (He) puts sacks with the saddle. When that's done (he) gets the knife and sharpens it; (he) gets the scabbard, puts the knife in it, (and) ties it at his waist. (translation: J. Kirkpatrick)

- (4.66) *Ma te oioi, ùa hiti, ù kokoti i tō ia vaka, (Ø) hika, (Ø) taai ma òto, (Ø) hohonu, ù ahiahi pō, me te hua i te haè.* LV2 109:13

The next day, he climbed up and cut down (a tree for) his canoe, he felled it, adzed out the inside, (adzing it) deeply, the night came and he returned home.

On this basis, Ø would appear to be a variant of *ù ~ ùa*. However, it does seem to be able to substitute for other verbal particles as well, although there are too few examples of these other particles in the texts to enable me to draw any conclusions. Occasionally in the texts a zero-marked verb phrase indicates an imperative. These are usually marked by *à*.

- (4.67) *(Ø) Hee mai i te kaikai.* LVD 105:7
come hither LOC DEF eat
'Come and eat!'

Teikiehuupoko (n.d.b:3) remarks 'Souvent la chute de A enlève à l'injonction son caractère contraignant.' Where *à* imperative is dropped, imperative intonation still remains.

My informants also frequently used no verbal particle when giving me sentence examples to illustrate the use of a particular word or words. They said the particle was either 'slipped over' or was understood to be there. However, it seemed that most frequently the missing particle was *ù ~ ùa*.

- (4.68) *(Û) hua anamai âtou i te topa -ia o te ua.*
OP.PFV return quickly they STATAG DEF fall -DN of DEF rain
'They came quickly because of the rain.'

- (4.69) *(E) topa ananu à te ua!*
OP.IMPF fall always INT DEF rain
'It is always raining!'

- (4.70) *(À) haka- hana!*
OP.IMP CAUS work
'Do it!'

4.2.13 Comparative comments

Most of the Ûa Pou verbal particles have cognates in other Eastern Polynesian languages. *I* is the Ûa Pou reflex of Proto Eastern Polynesian **i* 'past' (Clark 1976:30). In Tahitian, Hawaiian and Rarotongan *i* is the only verbal particle which occurs in past negatives.

Cognates of *te...nei* occur in TAH (as *te...nei*),²⁵ HAW (as *ke...nei*)²⁶ and RAR (as *te...nei*),²⁷ where they indicate either progressive or continuous aspect and present tense and are used frequently in their respective languages. This is in contrast to the Ûa Pou form, which is not often used and whose meaning is restricted to present tense.

Û ~ ùa is the Ûa Pou reflex of Proto Polynesian **kua* which Clark (1976:30) glosses 'perfect' and notes is a form which is 'reflected in almost every PN language' but whose 'semantic analysis is an interesting problem'. The Ûa Pou reflex poses some problems. Its distribution is similar in several respects to that of, say, its Māori, Tahitian or Hawaiian cognates. For example, it cannot occur with negatives, in relative clauses or with *ai* in those languages. However, its use in narrative text is much more like Māori *ka*, which Bauer (1981:62) has pointed out is the 'basic marker of narrative' and which Hooper (1982:69) labels 'perfective'. While most reflexes of Proto Polynesian **kua* are glossed 'perfect', the Ûa Pou reflex is more accurately described as a marker of perfective aspect.²⁸

E is the Ûa Pou reflex of Proto Polynesian **e* 'non-past' (Clark 1976:30). TAH *e* is glossed 'imperfective' by Coppenrath and Prévost although in TAH, *e* marks more subcategories, including 'optative' and 'additive', than its Ûa Pou cognate. Buse (1963a:156) also chose 'imperfective' to gloss RAR *e*, which marks imperative, habitual and continuative, and inceptive in negative sentences.

À is the Ûa Pou reflex of Proto Polynesian **kaa* 'anticipatory, future' (Clark 1976:30).²⁹ Marquesan, Tahitian, Tuamotuan and Rapanui³⁰ all mark the imperative mood with their reflex of Proto Eastern Polynesian **ka*.

Other Polynesian languages, in common with a great many of the world's languages, use a zero-marked verb form.³¹ Clark reconstructs a zero marker for Proto Polynesian, which is

²⁵ Coppenrath and Prévost (1974:176).

²⁶ Elbert and Pukui (1979:60).

²⁷ Pawley (1970:320).

²⁸ In fact, TAH *ùa* and HAW *ua* have also been described as markers of perfective aspect rather than the perfect. See Coppenrath and Prévost (1974:175) for TAH and Elbert and Pukui (1979:57) and Dahl (1985:70) for HAW.

²⁹ The term 'anticipatory' is often used to gloss reflexes of **kaa*, particularly in Pawley (1970:320–325), where he lists the tense-aspect markers of sixteen Polynesian languages and uses this gloss for the reflexes of **kaa* in eight languages. He was using it to encompass the senses 1. definite future (predicted or asserted) 'will', and 2. contingent future 'if, when', which it has in several Polynesian languages (Pawley pers. comm.). Vern Carroll (1965:210) used the term for Nukuoro and said 'ga (anticipatory) is used where the verbal idea is indefinite, where permission or assent is being sought, or to indicate the passage of time'. However, the term 'anticipatory' does not appear to have been defined and seems to be a term coined specifically for Polynesian aspect systems. It seems to frequently overlap with 'future' but also seems to be intended as a quite different gloss from 'inceptive', judging from the examples given to illustrate the use of *ka(a)*. See for example Carroll (1965:210), Early (1981:37), Salisbury (1985:48). The term does not seem to be appropriate as a gloss for Ûa Pou *à*.

³⁰ Coppenrath and Prévost (1974:177) for Tahitian, Stimson and Marshall (1964:182) for Tuamotuan and Fuentes (1960:649) for Rapanui.

the imperative Ø. Hooper mentions zero-marked phrases in several Polynesian languages which are not imperatives. For Māori she notes (Hooper 1982:73) that ‘unmarked verbs indicate sudden or simultaneous action, or occasionally iterativity’ concluding that they occur in perfective predicates (1982:79). In Tahitian they mark past tense (1982:90) while in Hawaiian they mark perfective aspect alternating with *a* (1982:96). In Tokelauan narrative the majority of clauses are unmarked for tense or aspect and overwhelmingly these clauses ‘advance the action and occur, iconically, in the same sequence as the events they report’ (1982:146). The situation in Tikopian is almost identical.

The mood marker *ia* is the Ūa Pou reflex of Proto Central Eastern **kia* ‘subjunctive’ (Clark 1976:30), while *oi* is the reflex of Proto Central Eastern **koi* ‘lest’ (Biggs et al. 1993 POLLEX). *Òa* and *ea* do not appear to have cognates in other Eastern Polynesian languages.

4.3 Preverbal modifiers *āte* ‘carefully, slowly’, *ana* ‘diminutive’ and *tē* ‘negative, diminutive’

In general verbal modifiers occur after the verbal base and there are no exceptions to this in the texts. However, Dordillon (1931) mentioned some exceptions and my informants agreed that the modifiers, *āte*³² and *ana* were still used. They also used *tē* as a preverbal marker.

<i>āte hee</i>	‘go carefully’
<i>āte kai</i>	‘eat sparingly’
<i>āte peàu</i>	‘speak slowly, quietly’
<i>ù āte hiti mātou</i>	‘we climbed slowly’
<i>ana iti</i>	‘a little small’
<i>ana òa</i>	‘a little long’
<i>ana toko</i>	‘a little heavy’

- (4.71) *Āte inu oi hika koe!*
carefully drink lest fall you(SG)
‘Drink in moderation, in case you fall over!’

- (4.72) *Āte too tēnā tiha!*
carefully take that box
‘Take that box carefully!’

- (4.73) *Ūa ana maakau au i -a koe.*
PFV DIM think I DO PS you(SG)
‘I think of you a little.’

- (4.74) *Mea ana rui atu t- -ō koe vaka i tōu.*
thing DIM big thither DEF of you(SG) canoe DO mine
‘Your canoe is a little bigger than mine.’

³¹ See Dahl (1985:26): ‘the imperative is almost always the morphologically least marked verb form, often identical to the verb stem’.

³² Compare Māori *ōia*, and Hawaiian *aka*- (see Elbert & Pukui 1979:74).

The negative particle *tē*, as well as negating the action or state of the following base, also implies a diminishing of that action or state over a period of time as can be seen in the translations of the following examples.

- (4.75) *Ū tē hee oko nei taù hana ì mua.*
 PFV NEG go strong now my work LOC before
 'My work is not going as well as it was before (and is getting worse).'
- (4.76) *Ū tē hana oko nei te ènana.*
 PFV NEG work strong now DEF person
 'The people are not working as hard (and are working less and less).'

Compare this example with:

- (4.77) *Âê hana oko nei te ènana.*
 NEG work strong now DEF person
 'The people are not working hard.'

4.4 The nuclear particles *haka-* ~ *haa-* 'causative' and *-ia* 'passive'

The derivational morphemes which occur in verbal phrases are *haka-* ~ *haa-* 'causative' and *-ia* 'passive'. They occur in the nuclear slot in the phrase. *Haka-* ~ *haa-* is a prefix and *-ia* a suffix on the base. *Haka-* ~ *haa-* occurs most frequently with statives although it does occur with other base types, particularly middle verbs,³³ deriving a causative transitive verb from stative and middle verbs.

The following examples illustrate the use of this particle:

<i>òko</i>	'hear'	<i>hakaòko</i>	'listen'
<i>meitài</i>	'good'	<i>hakameitài</i>	'make good, cause to be good'
<i>tata</i>	'close'	<i>hakatata</i>	'come close to, approach'
<i>pohuè</i>	'alive, live'	<i>hakapohuè</i>	'save a life'
<i>kite</i>	'see, know'	<i>hakakite</i>	'show, explain'
<i>mau</i>	'take, stop, stain'	<i>hakamau</i>	'memorise, believe'

The choice of *haka-* or *haa-* is largely dialect-related with *Ūa* Pou speakers preferring *haka-*. However, my informants tell me that both forms are used throughout the Marquesas with different communities showing a preference for one or the other form.

- (4.78) *Ūa haka- pohuè te taute i te ènana.*
 PFV CAUS live DEF doctor DO DEF person
 'The doctor saved the man.'
- (4.79) *E haka- kanahau -ia t- o -ù haè e au.*
 IMPF CAUS nice -PASS DEF of me house AG me
 'I will decorate my house.' (lit. 'My house will be decorated by me.')

³³ Chung (1978:47) classifies transitive verbs as 'canonical transitive or middle, largely on the basis of their semantics. Canonical transitive verbs describe events which produce a direct, often physical effect on the direct object while middle verbs describe events that do not affect the direct object immediately.'

- (4.80) *Haka- hana!*
CAUS work
'Do it!'

The suffix *-ia*, when it occurs in a verbal phrase,³⁴ indicates that the verb is being used passively. This suffix cannot occur with a stative unless it is prefixed by *haka-* ~ *haa-* as in example (79) above.

- (4.81) *Ûa nunu -ia te kaikai ènana e Rosita.*
PFV cook PASS DEF food person AG Rosita
'The Marquesan food was cooked by Rosita.'
- (4.82) *E hiki -ia ana te âkau e te tau ènana.*
IMPF fall PASS CONT DEF tree AG DEF PL person
'The tree is being felled by the men.'
- (4.83) *Û tivava -ia koe e Ben.*
PFV lie PASS you(SG) AG Ben
'You have been lied to by Ben.'

Where there is also a manner particle in the phrase, it will precede the passive suffix.

- (4.84) *Ûa too pū -ia t- -ō au kāhu.*
PFV take MNR PASS DEF of me clothing
'My clothes were taken without authority.'

4.5 Reduplication (RR- or R-)

There may also occur in the nucleus a partial (R-) or complete (RR-) repetition of the base. It is either a prefix or, occasionally, an infix on the base as in *mamate* and *matemate* from *mate* 'sick, die' or *mākokona* from *mākona* 'satisfied'. Verbs reduplicated in this manner indicate either that there is more than one actor or agent in the clause³⁵ or that the action is a repetitive one. Compare the following examples:

- (4.85) *Ûa mate te ènana i te pereò.*
PFV die DEF person CAUS DEF car
'The man died in a car (accident).'
- (4.86) *Û ma-mate te ènana i te toua -ia.*
PFV R-die DEF person CAUS DEF war DN
'The people die in (because of) the war.'
- (4.87) *Û mate-mate te èita i te òumati oko.*
PFV RR-die DEF plant CAUS DEF sun strong
'Lots of plants died because of the strong sun.'
- (4.88) *À koti aè koe tēnā poo ika!*
IMP cut INT you(SG) that piece fish
'Cut that piece of fish!'

³⁴ In an NP, a suffix of the same form indicates a derived noun.

³⁵ However, dual or plural agents in a clause do not require reduplicated verbs or statives.

- (4.89) À ko-koti aè koe tēnā poo ika!
 IMP R-cut INT you(SG) that piece fish
 'Cut that piece of fish up into pieces.'
- (4.90) À koti-koti aè koe tēnā poo ika!
 IMP RR-cut INT you(SG) that piece fish
 'Cut that piece of fish up into lots of small pieces.'
- (4.91) Û he-heke na vaka ì te moana. LV2 155:1
 PFV R-go DP.DEF canoe LOC DEF open.sea
 'The canoes headed for the open sea.'
 (but not *Û heheke te vaka)
- (4.92) Û hihiamoe te ènana. LVD 91:5
 PFV R-sleep DEF person
 'The people have gone to sleep.'
 (but not *Û hihiamoe ia)

4.6 The postverbal particles

In the corpus available to me, I have been able to identify nineteen particles which only occur in the postposed periphery of a phrase. All of them occur in verbal phrases (see Table 4.2) but I was able to find only fourteen of them in noun phrases (see Chapter 5). The position a particle occupies is generally fixed, although some flexibility in the order does occur. The particles form sets according to the position they occupy with respect to the nucleus and other particles within the periphery.

The first two sets, the manner particles and the *ana*- particles, modify the base in some way and in Martinet's terms are centripetal.³⁶ There is no flexibility in the order in which these two sets can occur. Among the rest of the particles, just one, the anaphoric particle *ai*, is centrifugal in that it relates the whole phrase to other parts of the discourse. The remainder of those listed in Table 4.2 like the first two groups, are centripetal.

In this chapter I will consider just the centripetal particles. Since centrifugal particles relate the verb phrase to other phrases or parts of the discourse, some discussion of Ûa Pou syntax is necessary before these particles can be discussed. Thus I have deferred discussion of *ai* until Chapter 7.

Pawley (1970:328) has noted that flexibility in the order of particles in the postposed periphery is a characteristic of many Polynesian languages. However, he suggests that it may be connected to the centrifugal (exocentric in his terms) nature of the particles which occur towards the end of the periphery. This does not hold for the Ûa Pou verb phrase, since the freedom of order occurs amongst both types of particle and, in particular, the two particles which usually occur phrase-finally, *hoi* and *oti*, are centripetal.

Most frequently there is only one particle (if any) in the postposed periphery. However, two or more particles do occur together, as the following examples illustrate, but it is unusual to find more than four or five in the one phrase.

³⁶ See §4.1 above.

- (4.93) *Û hee kē hakaùà âtou.*
 PFV go different again they(PL)
 'They have gone somewhere else again.'
- (4.94) *Umoì e hua hakaùà mai iō māua!*
 NEG.IMP NP return again hither LOC us(DU.EXC)
 'Don't come back again to our place.'
- (4.95) *À hano vave hakaùà atu àè i te haina.*
 IMP go.and.get quickly again thither INT DO DEF materials
 'Go again now, very quickly, and get those things.'

Table 4.2: The postverbal particles

I		II	
Manner		ana-particles	
<i>pū</i>	'just only'	<i>anamai</i>	'suddenly, certainly'
<i>noa</i>	'without limits'	<i>ananu ~ anatu ~ anaù</i>	'always'
<i>kē</i>	'different, other'	<i>anaiho ~ aneiho</i>	'only'
<i>vave</i>	'quickly'	<i>anake ~ anaè</i>	'at the time'
III		IV	
		Direction	
<i>hakaùà</i>	'again'	<i>mai</i>	'hither'
		<i>atu</i>	'thither'
		V	
		<i>iho</i>	'soon, reflexive'
VI		VII	
<i>aè</i>	'insistence, a short time before or after'	<i>ai</i>	anaphoric, 'certain' (see Ch.7)
		<i>ana ~ aa</i>	continuous
		<i>nei</i>	immediate past, 'now, here'
		<i>à</i>	'at last,' intensive
VIII			
<i>hoì</i>	'indeed'		
<i>oti</i>	'perhaps'		

Members within each of the groups do not occur together in the same phrase, and although it may be expected that any combination of particles from different groups is possible, there are restrictions other than those of length described above. These appear in the main to be the result of a general constraint such that a given particle can only occur once. For example, the constraint does not allow *anamai* and *anatu* to combine with the directional particles (*mai* and *atu*) because they are already contained in them.

In the following sections I will deal with each of the sets of particles in turn as they occur in the phrase, pointing out the order they occur in within the periphery and illustrating their use by way of examples. The preferred or usual order of occurrence is as given in Table 4.2.

As was the case with the particles in the preposed periphery, little discussion of the meaning of the particles can be undertaken here, since the corpus available to me does not allow me to make any firm conclusions in this area.

For many of the postposed particles described here, the entries in Dordillon's dictionary and grammar differ from my informants' interpretations, particularly with respect to meaning. Possible explanations for this are that these particles have undergone semantic changes in the last century since the dictionary was compiled, or that much of the information applies to another dialect whose use is considerably different from that on Ûa Pou. The latter is certainly true in at least one case, *na*, which occurs in the southern dialect and in Nuku Hivan (northern dialect) in the same position as *nei* and *à*, but does not occur as a postposed particle at all in the Ûa Pou dialect.³⁷

4.6.1 Manner particles *pū* 'just, only', *noa* 'unlimited', *kē* 'different, other' and *vave* 'quickly'

The particles which occur in the first position after the nucleus³⁸ share a semantic constant in that they each modify the base in the nucleus, describing a particular manner in which the action or state given in the nucleus occurs. Hence the label 'manner particles'.³⁹

The manner particles which occur in verb phrases in the corpus are *pū*, *noa*, *kē*, and *vave*. There were no examples of any two of these particles occurring together in the same phrase in the texts and my informants could not provide well-formed examples of such combinations.⁴⁰ Each of these particles has more than one possible translation equivalent in English, and in some cases there are several.⁴¹

The manner particles of Māori pose almost identical problems, both for the translations given in Williams' dictionary and the fact that there is often no appropriate English equivalent (see Mutu-Grigg 1982).

pū 'just, only'

Although *pū* is glossed 'just, only' its translation depends on the context, as the following examples illustrate:⁴²

³⁷ Information for Dordillon's dictionary was collected from both dialect areas but no dialectal information is given with the entries.

³⁸ However, if the passive suffix (a nuclear particle according to this description) also occurs, it will follow rather than precede the manner particle. (See §4.4 above).

³⁹ Each Polynesian language has a group of particles similar (but not necessarily cognate) to the manner particles of Marquesan (Pawley 1970). While more recent authors refer to them as manner particles, they were, and often still are, referred to in grammars and dictionaries as 'adverbs' and 'adjectives' (Mutu-Grigg 1982:7–11).

⁴⁰ As opposed to Māori where, for example, *kē* and *noa* (both manner particles in Māori) can occur together (Mutu-Grigg 1982:16).

⁴¹ The manner particles of Māori pose almost identical problems, both for the translations given in Williams' dictionary and the fact that there is often no appropriate English equivalent. See Mutu-Grigg (1982).

⁴² The translation equivalents given here differ, at least in part, from Dordillon's dictionary entry. 'Sans sujet, sans motif, sans cause, sans raison, sans permission, sans avoir prévenu, sans être vain, inutilement' accord with those given by my informants but 'tout à coup, tout à fait, entièrement' no longer apply to *pū* in the Ûa Pou dialect.

- (4.96) *ì tēnei, ù peàu pū hua moì ...* LVD 81:14
 LOC this PFV say just that girl
 ‘At this, the girl just said ...’
- (4.97) *Ûa too pū i t- -ō au kāhu, âê peàu âê utu.*
 PFV send just DO DEF of me clothes NEG say NEG pay
 ‘(She) just took my clothes, without asking or paying.’
- (4.98) *...peke pū -ia ai ...* LV2 73:16
 angry just PASS APH
 ‘... (he) became angry for no reason ...’
- (4.99) *Û hiamoe pū.*
 PFV sleep alone
 ‘(He) slept with no covers.’
- (4.100) *Ûa inu pū i te tī, âê he manini,*
 PFV drink alone DO DEF tea NEG INDEF sugar
âê he vaiū.
 NEG INDEF milk
 ‘(He) drank the tea without anything in it, no sugar, no milk.’

noa ‘unlimited’⁴³

With a stative, *noa* is usually an intensifier as in⁴⁴

- (4.101) *Û toitoi noa t- -ō ia tekao.*
 PFV true unlimited DEF of he talk
 ‘His talk was very true indeed.’
- (4.102) *Okō noa te toi!*
 strong unlimited DEF pull
 ‘Pull really hard!’

It can indicate a repetitive action as in

- (4.103) *Hee noa ia ì te kai i te inai.*
 go unlimited he LOC DEF eat DO DEF meat
 ‘He goes there time and again to eat meat.’

kē ‘different, other’

Kē indicates otherness or difference.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Noa* has cognates in most Polynesian languages. Pawley (1970:49) reconstructs Proto Polynesian **noa* ‘without purpose’ as a postposed manner particle.

⁴⁴ Again the meanings here do not accord with all of Dordillon’s. Only ‘marque du superlatif’ is still appropriate. ‘Sans but, en l’air, accidentellement, spontanément, sans sujet, sans cause, sans motif’ are more appropriate for *pū*. However, Dordillon does compare *noa* to *pū*, and also to *paka*. The latter appears to be an archaic form since it is no longer used in the Ûa Pou dialect at least.

⁴⁵ Ûa Pou *kē* has cognates in several Polynesian languages. Pawley reconstructs Proto Polynesian **kehe* although his classification of it as a directional particle is questionable (see Mutu-Grigg 1982:65).

- (4.104) *Û maakau kē âtou.*
 PFV think different they(PL)
 'They think differently.'
- (4.105) *Ûa pae kē hakaùà âtou.*
 PFV leave different again they(PL)
 'They have gone off again.'

vave 'quickly'

Vave can be translated 'quickly', 'immediately', or 'promptly'. There were very few examples of this particle in the corpus.

- (4.106) *Âê âtou i kite vave ì -a Vakauhi.*
 NEG they(PL) past see immediately LOC PS Vakauhi
 'They did not see Vakauhi immediately.'
- (4.107) *Âê pao vave ia inu.* LV2 29:16
 NEG finish quickly DES drink
 '(He) didn't finish drinking quickly.'
- (4.108) *À hee vave aè kōtou!*
 IMP go quickly INT you(PL)
 'Go quickly!'
- (4.109) *Ûa hano vave hakaùà ia i te haina.*
 PFV go.and.get quickly again he DO DEF things
 'He went again quickly to get the things.'
- (4.110) *E kite vave -ia te ènana kaò.*
 IMPF find quickly PASS DEF person lost
 'The lost man will be found quickly.'

Although Dordillon gives *vave* as a base meaning 'venir', it only ever occurred following a base in my corpus. Also, my informants could not give me examples of it alone in the nucleus of a phrase and found Dordillon's

* *À vave mai!* (DLN 1931:440)

and

* *Ûa vave mai koe.*

unacceptable. Thus while *vave* may well have been a base at some stage, it is no longer in the Ûa Pou dialect.

4.6.2 *ana-* particles *anamai* 'suddenly, certainly', *ananu ~ anatu ~ anaù* 'always', *anaiho ~ aneiho* 'only' and *anake ~ anaè* 'at the time'

These particles as a set immediately follow the manner particles. They are centripetal, like the manner particles, in that they modify the nucleus but they are not incompatible with the manner particles.

Formally these particles appear to be a combination of *ana* and one of either the two directionals *mai* and *atu* (with variations on *atu*) or the modifiers *iho* and *ake ~ aè*. Yet the

meaning of only two of these, *mai* and *atu*, is retained in the combined forms, and then only to a restricted degree, since the directional meaning in these two words is only implied. Accordingly, *anamai* and *anatu* are incompatible with the directionals. The meaning 'continuous' of *ana* occurs in only one of the particles *anatu* 'always, continually' and the *ana*- particles can occur with *ana* in the same phrase (see example (120) below). Thus it seems unlikely that the *ana*- prefix is the same as the particle of the same form.

None, except *anake*, occur as fusions in other Polynesian languages, or occur with the same meanings as in Marquesan. Although my informants gave me several examples of each of them, an even broader sampling of them is needed before any comprehensive description of this set can be made. In the following sections I will simply give examples of each of these particles as supplied (mainly) by my informants. These will indicate, at least, their most typical present-day use in verbal phrases.

***anamai* 'suddenly, certainly'⁴⁶**

- (4.111) *Ūa hee kē anamai ia.*
 PFV go different suddenly he
 'He suddenly went elsewhere.'
- (4.112) *Ūa peke pū anamai ia i -a au.*
 PFV angry for.no.reason suddenly he DO PS me
 'He was suddenly angry with me for no reason.'
- (4.113) *E hua anamai koe oioi?*
 NP return certainly you(SG) tomorrow
 'Are you definitely returning tomorrow?'
- (4.114) *E hua mai koe à kave anamai koe tēnā peto.*
 NP return hither you(SG) IMP bring certainly you(SG) that dog
 'When you come back, make sure you bring me that dog.'
- (4.115) *Âê he inai iō te haè, ūa hee anamai*
 NEG INDEF meat LOC DEF house PFV go immediately
ia i te avaika.
 he LOC DEF fish
 'There was no meat in the house, (so) he went immediately to fish.'

***ananu ~ anatu ~ anaù* 'always'⁴⁷**

All three forms of this particle are used on *Ūa Pou* and appear to be in free variation.

- (4.116) ... *paotū te â kave ananu i te ika.* LV2 67:25
 all DEF day bring always DO DEF fish
 '... every day he always brought fish.'

⁴⁶ The translations given here do not accord with most of Dordillon's translations for this particle. His 'subitement' is the only appropriate translation on *Ūa Pou* at the present time.

⁴⁷ The meaning given here of this particle does not accord with all of Dordillon's translations. His 'Toujours, sans cesse, continuellement, sans fin' are still satisfactory translations but 'gratis, gratuitement, tout à fait, entièrement, de même' are not.

- (4.117) *Te koika pū ananu nei t- ā tātou*
 DEF holiday for.no.reason always now DEF of we(PL.INC)
hana, âê he hana meitai.
 work NEG INDEF work good
 'All we are doing all the time is just sitting around, having a good time.
 It is not a good thing.'
- (4.118) *Ātiii ananu paotū te â. LVD 59:18*
 like.this always all DEF day
 'It was always like this every day.'
- (4.119) *Tihe ananu te mākaka iō tēā vehine.*
 arrive always DEF womaniser LOC that woman
 'That "womaniser" is always visiting that woman's house.'
- (4.120) *Hee anatu ana te èo ... LV2 21:24*
 go always CONT DEF voice
 '(And he) continued calling out ...'

anaiho ~ aneiho 'only'

The two forms of this particle are in free variation.

- (4.121) *Āê anaiho au e vivini i t- -ā koe tekao.*
 NEG only I IMPF know DO DEF of you(SG) talk
 'I am the only one who doesn't understand what you said.'
- (4.122) *Ūa too anaiho i te ika me te kūmaa,*
 PFV bring only DO DEF fish and DEF kumara
âê he èhi.
 NEG INDEF coconut
 '(He) brought only fish and kumara, no coconut.'
- (4.123) *Ā hiti anaiho e hoa. LV2 17:14}*
 MP go alone VOC friend
 'Go alone, friend.'

anake ~ anaè 'at the time'

This particle, whose two forms are in free variation, usually occurs in nominal phrases with the meaning 'only, alone'. I have just one example of it in a verb phrase where it means 'at the moment that, at the time that'.

- (4.124) *Īa hee anake koe ì Nuku Hiva,*
 when go at.the.time you(SG) LOC N.
too mai koe taù peni.
 bring hither you(SG) my paint
 'On the day you go to Nuku Hiva, bring me back some paint.'

4.6.3 *hakaùà* ‘again’

This particle follows either the *ana-* particles or the directional particles. It is derived from the base *ùà* ‘two’ with the causative prefix *haka-*. In general, a base prefixed by *haka-* is a transitive verb. *Hakaùà* is the most notable exception in Marquesan. It is not a base since phrases such as:

* *ùà hakaùà*

or

* *te hakaùà*

are ungrammatical. It occurs only in the postposed periphery of verbal phrases.

- (4.125) *I taki hakaùà ai te moa.* LVD 21:15
past cry again APH DEF cock
‘The cock crowed again.’

- (4.126) *Umoì e hua hakaùà mai iō māua.* LV3 785:9
NEG NP return again hither LOC we(DU.EXC)
‘Don’t come back again to our place.’

- (4.127) *À tuku mai hakaùà.* LVD 49:21
IMP send hither again
‘Give me (one) again.’

- (4.128) *Ûa hano vave hakaùà ia i te haina.*
PFV go.and.get quickly again he DO DEF possessions
‘He went again quickly to get the things.’

4.6.4 Directional particles *mai* ‘hither’ and *atu* ‘thither’

In the Ûa Pou dialect of Marquesan, there are just two particles which indicate direction

mai ‘direction towards the speaker/narrator, hither’

atu ‘direction away from the speaker/narrator, thither’

All Polynesian languages have a set of postposed particles whose basic meaning is direction with reference to an understood point of reference, for example the speaker. Some languages (e.g. Tongan) have five such particles marking, roughly, direction towards, away, upwards, downwards and parallel to. More usual, however, are four. The Ûa Pou dialect is unique in having reduced this set to just two. The other two forms that would be expected to make up the four, are *ake* and *iho*. These are still postposed particles in the Ûa Pou dialect but they have no directional meaning. They can also occur in the same phrase as the directional particles (see examples (4.134)–(4.136)).

Although the notion of direction is present in all the following examples, it is not always possible to translate it into English.

- (4.129) *Û toi -ia mai te vaka e au.*
PFV drag PASS hither DEF canoe AG me
‘I dragged the canoe here.’

- (4.130) Û *peàu mai tuu kui, “À hee mai!”*
 PFV speak hither my mother IMP go hither
 ‘My mother said to me, “Come here!”’
- (4.131) Û *peàu atu ia ì -a âtou.*
 PFV speak thither he LOC PS they(PL)
 ‘He spoke to them.’
- (4.132) À *hee atu ana koe, ùa mate ia.*
 IN go thither CONT you(SG) PFV die he
 ‘By the time you went, he had died.’
- (4.133) *I tau atu ai Keikahanui. LV2 23:13*
 past land thither APH Keikahanui
 ‘And so Keikahanui landed.’

There is some flexibility in the order of particles following the *ana*- particles in that, for example, *hakaùà* can either precede or follow the directional particles (see examples (4.126) and (4.127) above). Also, while it is more usual for the modifiers *aè* and *iho* to follow the directionals (as in (4.134) and (4.135)), they can precede them as well (as in (4.136)).

- (4.134) *Veve mai àè koe!*
 hurry hither INT you(SG)
 ‘Hurry up and come here!’
- (4.135) À *tìdhi mai iho koe!*
 IMP look hither reflexive you(SG)
 ‘Look at yourself!’
- (4.136) Ûa *noho iho mai koe.*
 PFV stay soon hither you(SG)
 ‘Afterwards, you stayed.’

Also, while the directional particles are incompatible with *anamai* and *anatu* (which are implicitly directional) they are not incompatible with *anaiho* and *anake*.

- (4.137) À *hiti anaiho atu!*
 IMP climb alone thither
 ‘Climb (go inland) alone!’
- (4.138) Ûa *hua anaiho mai koe.*
 PFV return alone hither you(SG)
 ‘You returned alone.’

Mai and *atu* will sometimes occur in adjoining clauses modifying the same base in each. This use indicates the reciprocity of an action.

- (4.139) Û *tìvava atu, ù tìvava mai na pūpū porotita.*
 PFV lie thither PFV lie hither DP.DEF group political
 ‘The political parties lie to each other.’

Mai also occurs in a construction in which it precedes a verb which is repeated:

- (4.140) *Mai pehi, pehi âtou i te manu, ùa pao te ìì.*
 hither hit hit they(PL) DO DEF bird PFV exhaust DEF strength
 'They kept throwing (things) at the birds until they were exhausted.'
- (4.141) *Mai huì, huì, huì, huì au ì te haè, âê he*
 hither turn turn turn turn I LOC DEF house NEG INDEF
mea i koàka.
 thing past find
 'I went round and round the house and found nothing.'

4.6.5 *iho* 'soon, reflexive' and *aè* 'insistence, a short time before or after'

The particles *iho* and *aè* ~ *ake* most usually follow the directional particles and *hakaùà* (see the examples in the previous two sections). They do not often occur together although my informants gave me the following example:

- (4.142) *À tiòhi iho àè koe!*
 IMP look soon insist you(SG)
 'I insist that) you look immediately!'

Hence I have allocated two adjacent positions to these particles in the postposed periphery in Table 4.2.

Iho indicates immediacy or near immediacy.

- (4.143) *Ûa heke iho âtou ì tai ì te pao -ia.*
 PFV descend soon they(PL) LOC sea LOC DEF finish DN
o t- ā âtou hana.
 of DEF of they(PL) work
 'They went down to the sea as soon as they finished work.'
- (4.144) *Ûa piki iho ia iō he ihorave.*
 PFV climb soon he LOC INDEF horse
 'Afterwards, he climbed on the horse'
- (4.145) *I kite iho ai âua i te peto.*
 past find after APH they(DU) DO DEF dog
 '(Thus) they then found the dog.'

Iho can also indicate that the verb is being used reflexively.

- (4.146) *Û kaðha iho i -a ia iho.*
 PFV love REF DO PS he REF
 'He loves himself.'
- (4.147) *Na âua e ùmihi iho t- -ō âua maakau.* LV2 7:12
 of they(DU) NP search REF DEF of they(DU) thought
 'They searched each other's thoughts.'

As already mentioned in the previous section, the particle *iho* (or its cognates) in most Polynesian languages indicates direction downwards.⁴⁸ But *iho* as a postposed particle in the Ûa Pou dialect of Marquesan does not retain this meaning at all now (see example (4.144) above). However, the loss of this use of *iho*, and also the directional meaning of *aè* as a postposed particle,⁴⁹ has not occurred on Nuku Hiva (Zewen 1987:66). I have no information on the current use⁵⁰ of these particles elsewhere in the Marquesas and hence can only assume that this loss of meaning is an innovation on Ûa Pou at least. However, there is a base of the same form in the Ûa Pou dialect which is glossed 'descend' and examples such as the following are grammatical.

- (4.148) Ûa *iho* *iho* ia ì àò.
 PFV descend immediate he LOC below
 'He went down below immediately.'

Aè occurs in free variation with *ake*. With an imperatively marked base it indicates insistence that the action be done. With bases marked otherwise in the verbal phrase it indicates a short time lapse, either before or after the action or state occurs.

- (4.149) À *tiðhi* *aè* *koe* ì *tēnā* *ènana*.
 IMP look insist you(SG) LOC that person
 'I insist that) you look at that man!'
- (4.150) À *hee* *vave* *aè* *koe*!
 IMP go quickly insist you(SG)
 'I insist that) you go quickly!'
- (4.151) À *hua* *mai* *ake* *koutou*!
 IMP return hither insist you(PL)
 'I insist that) you come back here!'
- (4.152) Ò *ai* *te* *ènana* *i* *kanea* *ake* *nei* *i* *te* *vaka*?
 FOC who DEF person past build before now DO DEF canoe
 'Who is the person who has just constructed the canoe?'
- (4.153) Ûa *tihe* *mai* *ia*, ùa *noho* *aè* *iō* *âtou*.
 PFV arrive hither he PFV stay after LOC they(PL)
 'He arrived and after, stayed with them.'

4.6.6 *ana* ~ *aa* 'continuous'

Ana ~ *aa* occurs in the same position as *ai*, *nei* and *à* and is incompatible with them. The two forms of this particle are in free variation and in a verbal phrase it indicates a continuous or on-going situation. It occurs most frequently with *e* 'non-past', indicating continuous aspect, or with no verbal particle.

⁴⁸ Pawley (1970:349) reconstructs Proto Central Eastern **iho* 'downwards' and Proto Polynesian **hifo* 'downwards' as directional particles.

⁴⁹ Pawley (1970) reconstructs Proto Central Eastern **ake* 'upwards, immediate in time' and Proto Polynesian **hake* 'upwards' as directional particles.

⁵⁰ Dordillon gives examples of these forms being used as directional particles.

- (4.154) *E nunu aa Rosita i te kaikai.*
 NP cook CONT Rosita DO DEF food
 ‘Rosita is cooking the food.’
- (4.155) *Âi hika te enana, ênâ e tū aa.*
 NEG fall DEF person there NP stand CONT
 ‘The man did not fall, there he is still standing.’
- (4.156) *Âi veà atu aa t- ā tahipito toiki mei.* LV2 177:25
 NEG cook thither CONT DEF of other child breadfruit
 ‘The other children’s breadfruit was not cooked.’

Ana ~ aa occurs in relative clauses, and can substitute for either *ai* or *nei* there. However its use is not restricted, as is for example the use of *ai* (see Chapter 7). A few examples are given here to illustrate this, but a more comprehensive list of examples, indicating the grammatical roles of the deleted NP are given in the following section on *nei*.

- (4.157) *Ò te toiki a te tumu haamani e uiui aa, âê oko.*
 FOC DEF child POSS DEF teacher NP ask CONT NEG hear
 ‘The children whom the teacher was questioning did not hear.’
- (4.158) *Ò te kai i peàu ana te hakaiki mea tekeo.*
 FOC DEF food past speak CONT DEF chief thing poison
 ‘The food of which the chief was speaking was poisonous.’

The following examples of *ana ~ aa* with the verbal particle *à* illustrate the very common idiomatic use of this combination of particles.

- (4.159) *À hano atu ana ia i te inai, ua pao.*
 IN go.and.get thither CONT he DO DEF meat PFV finish
 ‘By the time he went to get the meat, it was gone.’
- (4.160) *À tihe mai ana ia, ua hee te vahana.*
 IN arrive hither CONT he PFV go DEF husband
 ‘By the time he arrived, the husband had gone.’

4.6.7 *nei* ‘immediate past, now, here’ and *à* ‘at last, intensive’

The two particles *nei* and *à*⁵¹ occur in the same position in the postposed periphery as *ai* and *ana ~ aa* and before *hoi* and *oti*.

nei indicates, very broadly, position near the speaker in time or in space, with ‘immediate past (IP)’ or ‘now’ or, very occasionally, ‘here’ being appropriate glosses.

- (4.161) *Peàu mai nei Vakauhi ...* LV2 201:22
 say hither IP Vakauhi
 ‘Vakauhi has just said ...’

⁵¹ In the southern dialect of Marquesan, and in Nuku Hivan, a third particle, *na*, is included here. Māori, Tahitian and Hawaiian all have the three particles in this group.

- (4.162) *Tēâ vaina hauhau, à too nei koe?*
 that wine bad IN buy IP you(SG)
 'That terrible wine, (do you mean to say) you just bought it?'
- (4.163) ... *tēnei tekao i pao nei.* LVD 37:12
 this story past finish IP
 '... this story has just finished.'

Nei occurs most frequently in the verbal phrase of relative clauses. Its occurrence there is not restricted to particular situations as is the case with *ai* (see Chapter 7). *Nei* can in fact occur in any relative clause, regardless of the case of the deleted phrase coreferential to the head of the relativisation. However, where the deleted NP indicates either a location, cause or instrument, the presence of one of *nei*, *ai* or *ana ~ aa* is obligatory, and this is indicated by braces in the following examples. Furthermore *nei* can replace *ai* or *ana~aa* in these deletions. In many cases, *nei* is optional and this is indicated by parentheses () in the examples. The case of the deleted NP in the relative clause is given in square brackets at the end of each example.

- (4.164) *Ò ai tēnei e tekao { nei / ana? }* [nominative]
 FOC who this IMPF talk now
 CONT
 'Who is this who is speaking?'
- (4.165) *tā Vakauhi hana e hana { nei / ana. }* LV2 123:14
 POSS Vakauhi do IMPF do now
 CONT [nominative]
 '...Vakauhi's work that he is doing.'
- (4.166) *Û hoko -ia mai te haè a Hata*
 PFV buy PASS hither DEF house of Hata
i kanea (nei). [direct comment]
 past build IP
 'The house that Hata just built was bought.'
- (4.167) *E aha te tumu i hee mai { nei / ai }* *hua vehine?* [causal]
 IMP what DEF reason past go hither IP that woman
 APH
 'What is the reason that that woman came? (or: Why did that woman come?)'
- (4.168) *Ò Mokoia te henua i kau atu { nei / ai }*
 FOC Mokoia DEF land past swim thither here
 APH
Hinemoa mei Rotorua. [locative]
 Hinemoa from Rotorua
 'Mokoia is the place that Hinemoa swam to from Rotorua.'

- (4.169) Ò te vāhi t- ā ia i hee mai { nei }
 FOC DEF place DEF of he past go hither IP
 APH
 mea mamao iō he ōire. [location]
 thing distant LOC INDEF town
 'The place that he (just) came from was a very long way from the town.'
- (4.170) Ò te toki t- ā ia e tua { nei } i te ākau,
 FOC DEF axe DEF of he IMPF chop now DO DEF tree
 CONT
 mea koi. [instrument]
 thing sharp
 'The axe that he is chopping the tree with is very sharp.'

There were very few examples in the corpus of the postposed particle *à*. For the few examples I do have, my informants used them in a manner that could be translated 'now', 'at last' or 'so' or 'intensive' as illustrated in the following examples:

- (4.171) Û hiti à âtou?
 PFV climb at.last they(PL)
 'Have they now gone?'
- (4.172) Ì tēnei â, à uu mai à.
 LOC this day IMP enter hither at.last
 'So now, you may come in.'
- (4.173) Ûa hemo à hua piha nei.
 PFV catch at.last that bull here
 'At last that bull has been caught.'
- (4.174) E topa ananu à te ua.
 IMPF fall CONT INT DEF rain
 'It is always raining.'

4.6.8 hoì 'indeed' and oti 'perhaps'

These two particles occur phrase-finally, modifying the rest of the phrase. While *hoì* intensifies the rest of the phrase and indicates certainty, *oti* indicates uncertainty.

- (4.175) Ûa tihe hoì, ù peāu ... LV2 65:16
 PFV arrive indeed PFV say
 'Indeed, (he) came and said ...'
- (4.176) Ûa tihe pū mai hoì âtou, e aha à?
 PFV arrive without.permission hither indeed they(PL) NP what INT
 '(Yes) indeed, they have arrived, without permission, (but) what for?'

- (4.177) *À hana hoi au i t- -ā tāua hana, e kai ai tāua.*
 IN work indeed I DO DEF of 1DU.INC work NP eat sure 1DU.INC
 'I must do our work (so that) we will eat.'
- (4.178) *Ēo, ùa mate oti Taheta ...* LV2 51:24
 oh PFV die perhaps Taheta
 'Oh, perhaps Taheta is dead ...'
- (4.179) *Û mākaka oti koe i tahipito poi ...* LVD 19:3
 PFV mistreat perhaps you(SG) DO other people
 'Perhaps you have mistreated some people ...'

5 *The noun phrase — the centripetal periphery*

A noun phrase (NP) in Marquesan is any phrase beginning with either a case marker or a determiner. The case markers (or prepositions) are, in Martinet's (1962) terms, centrifugal since they relate the whole phrase to another phrase, so they will be considered in the next chapter. All other particles which occur in NPs are centripetal and refer to the nucleus of their phrase. In this chapter I will consider the centripetal particles which can occur in a NP, listing them according to the position they occupy within the phrase and illustrating how each one functions within the phrase.

As with the verb phrase, the order of occurrence of particles in an NP is rigidly fixed in the preposed periphery but more flexible in the postposed periphery. In the preposed periphery, the case markers (prepositions) always precede the determiners, which in turn precede the number markers. All of the preposed particles are listed in Table 5.1. In the postposed periphery there is a preferred order of particles, which is that given in Table 5.2. However, the order is more flexible there, particularly towards the end of the phrase.

Table 5.1: Nominal particles — the preposed periphery of a noun phrase

Case markers (see Ch.6)		Determiners		Number markers
Ø	Nominative	Articles	an embedded NP beginning with -ā or -ō	<i>mou</i> dual
<i>a</i>	dominant Possession	<i>te ~ t-</i> definite singular		<i>mau</i> dual/paucal
<i>e</i>	Agentive	<i>è</i> indefinite		<i>tau</i> plural
<i>i</i>	Direct Comment	<i>he</i> indefinite		
<i>ia</i>	Direct Comment, Locative	<i>na</i> dual/paucal definite		
<i>o</i>	subordinate Possession	<i>hua</i> anaphoric		
<i>iō</i>	Locative	<i>-a</i> personal		
<i>ma</i>	Path			
<i>me</i>	Comitative	Demonstratives		
<i>mei</i>	Source	<i>tēnei</i> 'this'		
<i>na</i>	dominant attributive Possession	<i>tēnā</i> 'that'		
<i>no</i>	subordinate attributive Possession	<i>tēā</i> 'that'		
<i>è</i>	Vocative	Others		
<i>i</i>	Locative	<i>tītahi</i> 'a certain'		
<i>ò</i>	focus	<i>tahipito ~ tahipiō</i> 'other'		

5.1 Determiners

The determiners, which follow the prepositions in the preposed periphery of a nominal phrase, refer to the nucleus of the phrase, marking it as definite or indefinite, specific or non-specific. They comprise the definite article *te* ~ *t-* and *na*, the indefinite articles *è* and *he*, the personal article *-a*, the anaphoric article *hua*, and the demonstratives *tēnei*, *tēnā* and *tēā*. *Tahipito* ~ *tahipiō* ‘other’ and *tītahi* ‘a certain’ are also determiners. In the following sections I will describe each of these determiners.

5.1.1 The articles *te* ~ *t-* ‘definite’, *na* ‘dual/paucal definite’, *-a* ‘personal article’, *è* and *he* ‘indefinite’, *hua* ‘anaphoric’

Te ~ *t-* defines the nucleus of the phrase as definite and specific.¹ It is the most frequently occurring determiner and is probably the neutral unmarked determiner.² The prefix form of this article, *t-*, is always followed by an embedded phrase, that is an entire phrase which occurs within the preposed periphery of the phrase in which *t-* is a preposed particle.³ The embedded phrase is always initiated by one of the possessive prepositions *a* or *o* (see §6.2.6) which, in this environment, are phonetically long, as in:

ì	t-	-ō	te	hakaiki	waka
				embedded phrase	
LOC	DEF	of	DEF	chief	canoe
				‘at the chief’s canoe’	

or:

na	t-	-ā	ia	vehine
				embedded phrase
for	DEF	of	him	woman
				‘for his wife’

Te ~ *t-* is used with a singular referent:

(5.1) ... ù hanau te tuaana ... LVD 1:2
 PFV born DEF older.brother
 ‘... the older brother was born ...’

¹ Although it is usual to characterise articles in Polynesian (Pn) as either definite or indefinite, Clark (1976:48) pointed out that specific or non-specific might be more appropriate. This arises from the notion that in many Pn languages, in using *te*, the speaker has a particular item in mind (regardless of whether the hearer is familiar with it). Thus there are contexts in Pn where *te* is used where in English, for example, an indefinite article would be used (see example (5.11)). See for example Bauer (1993:355–360) for a discussion of this aspect of *te* in Māori.

² Compare Bauer (1981:34) where in discussing determiners in Māori she notes ‘In many respects *te* seems to function as an unmarked determiner, and is used when a determiner is required but the specific semantic features of the other determiners are not appropriate’. She then goes on to suggest that *te* is probably rightfully the neutral or ‘default’ determiner (1997:144). Ūa Pou *te* is very similar to Māori *te* in this respect.

³ This is the one exception mentioned in the previous chapter to the general rule that only particles occur in the peripheries of a phrase.

- (5.2) *Ma te taha tai tuu taha -ia mai.*
 path DEF side sea my travel DN hither
 'I came by way of the coast.'
- (5.3) *Me te hua hakaùà o Maui iō te vehine.* LVD 51:9
 and DEF return again of Maui LOC DEF woman
 'And Maui returned again to that woman's place.'
- (5.4) *... ùa mate t- -ā ia vehine.* LVD 57:4
 PFV die DEF of him woman
 '... his wife died.'
- (5.5) *È aha t- -ā ātou hana ...* LVD 31:23
 INDEF what DEF of they(PL) work
 'What is their work ...'
- (5.6) *à hua kōrou ì t- ō kōrou⁴ henua, ...* LVD 9:6
 IMP return you(PL) LOC DEF of you(PL) land
 'Return to your land ...'

Te is used with a class of objects:

- (5.7) *Mea nui te manu i peāu -ia e na*
 thing many DEF bird past speak PASS AG DP.DEF
pakahio. LVD 93:2
 old.woman
 'Many were the (types of) birds that the old women spoke of.'

Te occurs with groups.

- (5.8) *Û peāu te mataèinaa o Toa:* LVD 57:14
 PFV speak DEF people of Toa
 'Toa's people spoke: ...'

Te ~ t- can occur with the number markers.

- (5.9) *À titii i te kaikai na te tau puaka.*
 IMP throw DO DEF food POSS DEF PL pig
 'Throw the food for the pigs.'
- (5.10) *... ùa hee Pota me t- ō ia tau hoa ...* LV2 95:8
 PFV go Pota with DEF of him PL friend
 '... Pota went with his friends ...'

Te is used with a specific but new (previously unmentioned) referent, where English uses an indefinite article.

⁴ The base in an embedded phrase is most frequently a personal pronoun. Biggs (1973:46) refers to these *t-*-initiated embedded phrases in Māori as the 't-class possessives'.

- (5.11) *Ûa òko te kui i te vehine pootu*
 PFV hear DEF mother DO DEF woman beautiful
e noho nei ì Ûa Pou. LVD 3:2
 NP live her LOC Ûa Pou
 'The mother had heard of a beautiful woman living on Ûa Pou.'

Te occurring with a number indicates an ordinal.

- (5.12) *Ûa tihe iō te toū o te kaavai ...* LV2 157:7
 PFV arrive LOC DEF three of DEF valley
 '(They) arrived in the third valley ...'
- (5.13) *À tuku mai koe te ono o te ika.*
 IMP give hither you(SG) DEF six of DEF fish
 'Give me the sixth fish.'

Te occurs as the initial element of one type of relative clause.⁵ As this function is centrifugal it is not considered further here.

- (5.14) *Ò koe te i kite.*
 FOC you(SG) DEF past see
 'You are the one who knows.'

Te occurs with place names only when the referent is the people or tribe of that place.⁶

- (5.15) *Ûa hee te Ûa Pou ì Tahiti.*
 PFV go DEF Ûa Pou LOC Tahiti
 'The people of Ûa Pou went to Tahiti.'
- (5.16) *Ûa kite te Hakamāii ...* LV3 791:14
 PFV see DEF Hakamāii
 'The people of Hakamāii (valley) saw ...'

Compare this with

- (5.17) *Ia tihe mai iō au ì Hakamāii te Gouverneur ...*
 when arrive hither LOC me LOC Hakamāii DEF governor
 'When the Governor arrived at my place in Hakamāii ...'

na 'dual/paucal definite article'⁷

Na defines the following noun as definite, specific and paucal indicating either two or a small number.

- (5.18) *Û peàu na kooua ...* LVD 35:15
 PFV say DP.DEF old.man
 'The (two) old men said ...'

⁵ Compare Tahitian (Coppenrath & Prévost 1974:15) and Hawaiian (Elbert & Pukui 1979:155–156).

⁶ With this exception, *te*, along with the other articles, does not occur before personal names, locatives (such as *una* 'top', *vaho* 'outside') and place names.

⁷ Compare Tahitian *na*, a restricted plural article.

- (5.19) ... *ì na pō kakiu ...* LVD 73:1
 LOC DP.DEF night old
 ‘... in the old days’
- (5.20) *Me te hua iō na pakahio ...* LV2 107:2
 and DEF return LOC DP.DEF old.woman
 ‘And (they) returned to the old women’s place ...’

Na is incompatible with the number markers *mou*, *mau* and *tau*⁸. It differs from the number markers *mou* ‘dual’ and *mau* ‘paucal’ in that it can occur with specific numbers while the number markers cannot.

- (5.21) *Ūa tihe mai na papakahio tokohā.*
 PFV arrive hither DP.DEF old.women four
 ‘The four old women have arrived.’

Compare this with the ungrammatical

- (5.22) * *Ūa tihe mai te mau papakahio tokohā.*

-a ‘personal article’

The personal article has a very restricted distribution, occurring before personal names and pronouns when the phrase is marked by either of the prepositions *i* ‘direct object marker’ or *ì* ‘locative’.

- (5.23) *Ia òko tēnā mou kooua i -a koe ...* LVD 35:12
 when hear that DU old.man DO PS you(SG)
 ‘When those old men heard you ...’
- (5.24) *Ū paòpaò au i -a Tāhia.*
 PFV annoyed I STATAG PS Tāhia
 ‘I am annoyed with Tāhia.’
- (5.25) *Ūa tuku au i tuu hāmani ì -a ātou.*
 PFV give I DO my book LOC PS they(PL)
 ‘I gave the book to them.’

è and he ‘indefinite articles’

The two indefinite articles *è* and *he* denote non-specificity as well as indefiniteness. While they translate similarly as ‘a, some’, and can substitute for each other in some environments, in general their distributions are different. Both *è* and *he* can occur in nominal predicates with no difference in meaning. But only *è* can occur before a number (where the notion of indefiniteness is lost) and only *he* can occur after a preposition.

⁸ See §5.2 below.

Examples in a nominal predicate:

- (5.26) *He tekao tēnei no Ikitepanoa.* LVD 73:5
Ē
 INDEF talk this of Ikitepanoa
 ‘This is a story about Ikitepanoa.’
- (5.27) *He mana t- ō te tamaiti.*
Ē
 INDEF extraordinary.powers DEF of DEF child LVD 77:9
 ‘The child had extraordinary powers.’
- (5.28) *He mou pakahio tupuna no te poiti.* LVD 77:12
Ē
 INDEF DU old.woman grandparent of DEF child
 ‘They were two grandmothers of the child.’

With a number:

- (5.29) *Ē ima onohuu ènana i hee ...* LVD 57:9
 INDEF five ten person past go
 ‘Fifty men went ...’
- (5.30) *Ūa pao è toù pō ...* LVD 85:11
 PFV completed INDEF three night
 ‘Three days passed ...’

In a prepositional phrase:

- (5.31) *Ūa topa ia iō he vai hohonu.*
 PFV fall she LOC INDEF water deep
 ‘She fell into a deep river.’
- (5.32) *Paotu te ènana i hee ma he vaka.*
 all DEF person past go path INDEF canoe
 ‘They all went by canoe.’
- (5.33) *Ò na teina o Ikitepanoa ùa rere*
 FOC DP.DEF younger brother of Ikitepanoa PFV flee
i he mouka ... LVD 75:7
 LOC INDEF mountain
 ‘The younger brothers of Ikitepanoa fled to some mountains ...’

***hua* ‘anaphoric article’**

Hua marks the nucleus as definite, specific and previously referred to (hence anaphoric). It translates ‘that’ in the sense of ‘aforementioned’.

- (5.34) *Ia kave hua ènana i te kai, ùa kamaii.*
 when bring that person DO DEF food PFV cold
 ‘When that man brought the food, it was cold.’

- (5.35) *Me te hee o hua mahai.* LVD 7:4
and DEF go of that youth
'And the young man went.'
- (5.36) *Ūa peàu hua tau vehine ...* LVD 23:4
PFV say that PL woman
'Those women said ...'
- (5.37) *À hua hakaàa tāua iō hua vāhi.*
IMP return again us(DU.INC) LOC that place
'Let's return again to that place.'
- (5.38) *Te ikoa o hua mou pakahio ...* LVD 77:10
DEF name of that DU old.woman
'The name of those two women ...'

5.1.2 The demonstratives *tēnei* 'this', *tēnā* 'that' and *tēā* 'that'

The demonstratives are:

- tenei* 'this'
tēnā 'that' (in the near distance)
tēā 'that' (in the far distance)

They can be analysed as consisting of the definite article plus the particles *nei*, *na* and *ā*.⁹ However, as they have the same distribution as other determiners they are treated as single morphemes.

- (5.39) *Tēnei ènana ò Kae ...* LVD 57:1
this person FOC Kae
'(There was) this man Kae ...'
- (5.40) *Ōinei taù i òko no tēnei tekao.*
here my past hear of this talk
'Here is what I heard about this story.'
- (5.41) *... te vahana a tēnei tau vehine ...* LVD 59:5
DEF husband of this PL woman
'... the husband of these women ...'
- (5.42) *... âê au e inu i tēnā mea.* LV2 29:6
NEG I NP drink DO that thing
'... I will not drink that stuff.'
- (5.43) *Te peàu -ia a tēnā mou ènana ...* LVD 193:26
DEF say DN of that DU person
'Those two men said ...'

⁹ In the Ūa Pou dialect, only *nei* and *ā* are still particles (see §5.10). However in the Nuku Hiva dialect of Marquesan (Zewen 1987:18) and in Māori and Tahitian (Pawley 1970) all three particles occur as positional particles indicating position near the speaker, near the hearer and distant from both speaker and hearer respectively.

- (5.44) ... ù ùmihi hua Toka i tēā tau vehine ... LVD 21:1
 PFV seek that Toka DO that PL woman
 '... that night Toka searched for those women ...'

The demonstratives, unlike the other determiners, may act as bases to fill the nucleus of a phrase.

- (5.45) È tekao tēnei no Ikitepanoa. LVD 73:5
 INDEF talk this of Ikitepanoa
 'This is a story about Ikitepanoa.'
- (5.46) Ò t- -ō au kui tēnei.
 FOC DEF of me mother this
 'This is my mother.'
- (5.47) Ò ai tēā? LVD 45:21
 FOC who that
 'Who is that?'

This use of tēnei as a base occurs in the common time phrase

- ì tēnei 'now'
 LOC this
- (5.48) Û haamata ì tēnei te aakakai ... LVD 1:2
 PFV start LOC this DEF story
 '(I) will now start the story ...'
- (5.49) Ì tēnei ù peāu te hakaiki ì -a Tu ... LVD 101:5
 LOC this PFV say DEF chief LOC PS Tu
 'At this, the chief said to Tu ...'

5.1.3 *tahipito* ~ *tahipiō* 'other'

Tahipito and its alternate *tahipiō* are plural, definite and can be either specific or non-specific.¹⁰ The two forms are in free variation and translate as 'other, the other, some'.

- (5.50) ... ù mākaka oti koe i tahipito poi ... LVD 19:3
 PFV do.evil perhaps you(SG) DO other person
 '... perhaps you have done someone a bad turn ...'
- (5.51) Ia kite tahipito toiki i hua ika ... LV2 107:3
 when see other child DO that fish
 'When the other children saw that fish ...'
- (5.52) Ûa hee tahipiō tau vehine ... LV3 921:1
 PFV go other PL woman
 'Some women went ...'

¹⁰ See footnote 1.

5.1.4 *tītahi* ‘specifying determiner’

Tītahi marks the following noun as indefinite and, in some cases at least, as specific. It translates as ‘a, some, a certain, another, other’.

- (5.53) ... *ùa tihe tītahi Gouverneur* *ì Ûa Pou nei.* LV3 789:9
 PFV arrive a.certain governor LOC Ua Pou here
 ‘... a certain governor arrived here in Ûa Pou.’
- (5.54) ... *ùa piki hua kooua i tītahi tumu èhi ...*
 PFV climb that old.man DO a.certain tree coconut
 ‘... that old man climbed one of the coconut palms ...’
- (5.55) *ì tītahi â ...* LVD 9:15
 LOC a.certain day
 ‘One day ...’
- (5.56) *Ûa kite i tītahi tau vehine tokotoù.* LVD 19:15
 PFV see DO a.certain PL woman three
 ‘(She) saw three particular women.’
- (5.57) ... *e hee te mouka mei tītahi motu*
 NP go DEF mountain from a.certain island
ì tītahi motu ... LVD 39:2
 LOC another island
 ‘... the mountain went from one island to another ...’

5.2 Number markers

The three (mutually exclusive) number markers *mou*, *mau* and *tau* mark the following noun as dual, paucal and plural respectively.¹¹ They are incompatible with the plural definite article *na*. The essential differences are illustrated in the following examples:

- (5.58) a. *Ûa hee te mou vehine.*
 PFV go DEF DU woman
 ‘The two women went.’
- b. *Ûa hee te mau vehine.*
 PCL
 ‘The (small) group of women went.’
- c. *Ûa hee te tau vehine.*
 PL
 ‘The group of women went.’

While *mou* is specific as to number, *mau* and *tau* are not and are incompatible with numbers as the following ungrammatical examples illustrate.

¹¹ PEP **mau* is reconstructed as a plural marker although Clark (1974:54) gives it as a ‘specifically larger plural’ rather than the paucal of Ûa Pou.

- (5.59) a. * *Ūa hee te mau vehine tokotoù.*
 PFV go DEF PCL woman three
 b. * *Ūa hee te tau vehine tokohā.*
 PFV go DEF PL woman four

In the following subsections I will give examples to illustrate the use of the number markers.

5.2.1 mou ‘dual’

- (5.60) *Ia òko tēnā mou kooua i -a koe ...* LVD 35:10
 when hear that DU old.man DO PS you(SG)
 ‘When those two old men hear you ...’
 (5.61) *Èna tītahi ènana me t- -ā ia mou moi ...* LVD 97:12
 there a.certain person with DEF of she DU girl
 ‘There was a woman with two daughters ...’
 (5.62) *À kokoti te mou âkau.*
 IMP cut DEF DU tree
 ‘Cut down the two trees.’

5.2.2 mau ‘paucal’

- (5.63) *Ēnā te ika a te mau hakaiki.*
 that DEF fish of DEF PCL chief
 ‘There are the (few) chiefs’ fish.’
 (5.64) *À kave mai te mau ika.*
 IMP carry hither DEF PCL fish
 ‘Bring me the (few) fish.’
 (5.65) *À too hua mau vaka.*
 IMP take that PCL canoe
 ‘Take those canoes.’

5.2.3 tau ‘plural’

- (5.66) *Ū koakoa oko hua tau ènana ...* LVD 9:4
 PFV happy strong that PL person
 ‘Those people were very happy ...’
 (5.67) *Na te tau pakahio me te tau kooua ...* LVD 73:6
 of DEF PL old.woman and DEF PL old.man
 ‘Belonging to the old women and old men ...’
 (5.68) *Ūa hee hakaùa Vakauhi ì te ika hī*
 PFV go again Vakauhi LOC DEF fish line.fish

me t- ō ia tau hoa. LV2 185:24
 with DEF of him PL friend
 'Vakauhi went line-fishing again with his friends.'

(5.69) *À titii i te kaikai na te tau puaka.*
 IMP throw DO DEF food of DEF PL pig
 'Throw the food for the pigs.'

(5.70) *He tau toiki na Piri.*
 INDEF PL child of Ben
 '(These) are Ben's children.'

5.3 The nuclear particle *-ia* (derived noun)

The two affixes which occur in the nucleus of a noun phrase are *-ia* 'derived noun' and *haka ~ haa-* 'causative'¹² occur in the nucleus of a noun phrase. *-ia* in an NP¹³ transforms a verbal base into its corresponding derived noun. For example:

<i>mate</i>	'sick, die'	<i>mateia</i>	'sickness, death'
<i>hano</i>	'go, go and find'	<i>hanoia</i>	'going, going to find'
<i>tupu</i>	'grow'	<i>tupuia</i>	'growing, maturing'
<i>tihe</i>	'arrive'	<i>tiheia</i>	'arrival'

(5.71) *Ì te tihe -ia o âtou, i tekao ai ia.*
 LOC DEF arrive DN of they(PL) past speak APH he
 'On their arrival, he spoke.'

(5.72) ... *ì te kite -ia atu i te vaka ...* LV2 21:17
 LOC DEF see DN thither DO DEF canoe
 '... on seeing the canoe ...'

(5.73) *Ì t- -ō ia tihe -ia ì te aomaama ...* LVD 81:8
 LOC DEF of her arrive DN LOC DEF world.of.light
 'When she arrived in the world of light ...'

5.4 The postnominal particles

The postnominal particles are listed in Table 5.2.

The structure of the postposed periphery of the noun phrase is very similar to that of the verb phrase in that, with only a few exceptions, the same particles occur in the same order with the same function and meaning. The main exceptions are that the particles *ai* and *hakaia* cannot occur in an NP. In some instances there were no examples of particular particles in an NP in my corpus, in particular some manner particles. However I cannot comment on their absence until further information has been gathered from informants.

¹² See §4.4.

¹³ The suffix of the same form in a VP is a passive marker (see §4.4).

Table 5.2: The postnominal particles

I		II		III	
manner particles directionals		<i>ana-</i> particles			
<i>kē</i>	'other, different'	<i>anamai</i>	'also, as usual'	<i>mai</i>	'hither'
		<i>anaiho</i>	'only'	<i>atu</i>	'thither'
		<i>ananu</i>	'always'		
		<i>anake ~ anaè</i>	'only'		
IV		V		VI	
<i>iho</i>	'soon, further'	<i>ana ~ aa</i>	emphasis	<i>hoi</i>	'indeed'
	reflexive	<i>nei</i>	'here'	<i>oti</i>	'perhaps'
<i>ake ~ aè</i>	'further'	<i>à</i>	intensive		

In the following sections I will simply list examples of the use of these particles as given in Table 5.2, commenting only where I have noticed a difference between the NP and VP use, and refer the reader to §4.6 for fuller discussion.

5.5 Manner particles

kē 'other, different' is the only manner particle which occurred in an NP in the corpus.

- (5.74) *Ūa hee ia iō tītahi kaavai kē.*
 PFV go he LOC a.certain valley other
 'He went to another valley.'
- (5.75) *È kaikai kē t- -ā koe, è kaikai kē taù.*
 INDEF food different DEF of you(SG) INDEF food different mine
 'You and I eat differently.' (lit. 'You have different food, I have different food.')
- (5.76) *Ūa kite âua mea kē ...* LVD 59:15
 PFV see they(DU) thing different
 'They saw (that they) were different ...'
- (5.77) *... me tahipito ika kē atu.* LV2 183:23
 and other fish different thither
 '... and other different (types of) fish.'

5.6 *ana-* particles

5.6.1 *anamai* 'also, as usual'

Note that the meaning of *anamai* in an NP is different from that in a VP (where it translates 'suddenly, certain').

- (5.78) *Tō ia hee -ia mai, me te kohe anamai.*
 POSS him go DN hither with DEF knife also
 'He came with his knife as well.'
- (5.79) *Ūa tihe mai âtou me te pereò anamai.*
 PFV arrive hither they(PL) with DEF car as.usual
 'They arrived, as usual, with the car.'

5.6.2 *anaiho* 'only'

- (5.80) *È toù anaiho ... LV2 91:24*
 num three only
 'Only three ...'
- (5.81) *Ò Lange anaiho à te mea i tū.*
 FOC Lange only INT DEF thing past stand
 'Lange was the only one left standing.'

5.6.3 *ananu* 'always'

- (5.82) *È kaikai ananu t- -ā âtou hana, paotū te â tapu.*
 INDEF food always DEF of they(PL) work every DEF day sacred
 'They always have a feast, every Sunday.'

5.6.4 *anake* ~ *anaè* 'only'

- (5.83) *Ò koe anake te i hua.*
 FOC you(SG) only DEF past return
 'You are the only one who returned.'

5.7 Directional particles

The directional particles *mai* and *atu* have very restricted distributions in NPs. They occur typically with locative bases such as *muì* 'behind' and *hea* 'where' or in temporal phrases.

5.7.1 *mai* 'hither'

- (5.84) *Mei hea mai koe?*
 from where hither you(SG)
 'Where have you come from?'
- (5.85) *... te teina ma muì mai Kapetumakavai ... LV2 163:3*
 DEF younger.brother LOC behind hither Kapetumakavai
 '... the next younger brother was Kapetumakavai ...'

5.7.2 *atu* ‘thither’

- (5.86) *Ma te oìòì atu ...* LVD 99:14
 LOC DEF tomorrow thither
 ‘Two days later ...’
- (5.87) *... àa hiti atu Vakauhi ma muì atu.* LV2 127:13
 PFV climb thither Vakauhi LOC behind thither
 ‘... Vakauhi climbed up further behind them.’

5.8 *iho* ‘soon, further’, reflexive and *aè ~ ake* ‘further’

Note that the meaning of these two particles depends on whether they occur in an NP or a VP. In §4.6.5 we saw that *iho* was glossed ‘soon’, reflexive and *aè ~ ake* ‘insistence, a short time before or after’ in a VP. Also, as with the directional particles, these particles have a very restricted distribution in NP, occurring typically with locative or temporal bases.

With locative bases *iho* and *ake* indicate different degrees of comparison in the sense that they indicate a further distance with respect to the location. The directional particle *atu* and the base *àa* ‘far, long’ are also used in this manner and the relationship between the four words is illustrated in the following examples:

- (5.88) a. *À tuku koe tēnā āta ì àò.*
 IMP put you(SG) that picture LOC below
 ‘Put that picture at the bottom.’
- b. *À tuku koe tēnā āta ì àò iho.*
 further
 ‘Put that picture lower down.’
- c. *À tuku koe tēnā āta ì àò ake.*
 further
 ‘Put that picture much further down.’
- d. *À tuku koe tēnā āta ì àò atu.*
 thither
 ‘Put that picture much, much further down.’
- e. *À tuku koe tēnā āta ì àò àa.*
 far
 ‘Put that picture right at the bottom.’

Iho in an NP can also indicate a reflexive action (as it could in a VP).

- (5.89) *Û kaðha iho i -a ia iho.*
 PFV love REF DO PS him REF
 ‘He loves himself.’

Further examples of *iho* and *ake* in NPs are:

- (5.90) *Ma hope iho, àa hee ia ì te henua tiðhi.* LVD 163:20
 LOC behind soon PFV go he LOC DEF land look
 ‘Afterwards, he went to look at the country.’

- (5.91) *Ūa tihe ma te popouì aè...* LVD 89:13
 PFV arrive LOC DEF morning further
 'They arrived the next morning ...'
- (5.92) *... mea oko aè ì -a mātou.* LV2 67:18
 thing strong further LOC PS us (PL.EXC)
 '... it is something stronger than us.'

5.9 *ana* ~ *aa* emphasis

The meaning of this particle used in an NP differs from that when it used in a VP. Where *ana* ~ *aa* occurs in an NP it emphasises the base it follows.

- (5.93) *Ū hao -ia te kaikai a te puaka*
 PFV steal PASS DEF food of DEF pig
è hua vehine aa na ia. LVD 27:11
 AG that woman EMP POSS her
 'The pig's food was stolen by that woman herself, for herself.'
- (5.94) *... ò Vakauhi anaiho à hua mahai aa.* LV2 203:1
 FOC Vakauhi only INT that youth EMP
 '... that very young man was none other than Vakauhi himself.'
- (5.95) *Ēnā oti iō te kaavai ma ūka atu ana.* LV2 157:1
 there perhap LOC DEF valley LOC top further EMP
 'Perhaps (he) is in the valley much further to the east.'
- (5.96) *Ò ia ana te ikoa o te ika ...* LV3 867:5
 FOC it EMP DEF name of DEF fish
 'This is actually the name of the fish ...'

5.10 *nei* 'here' and *ā* 'intensive'

Both these particles occur in the same position in an NP as *ana*. In an NP *nei* indicates position near the speaker in space (in a VP it is also in time).

- (5.97) *Āê he ahi ì Havaiki nei!* LVD 49:15
 NEG INDEF fire LOC Havaiki here
 'There is no fire here in Havaiki!'

Where there is a determiner in the same phrase as a positional particle, it is usually (but not obligatorily) *hua*, the anaphoric article.

- (5.98) *Ūa tihe hua tama nei.* LVD 29:9
 PFV arrive that boy here
 'This boy has arrived.'
- (5.99) *Ūa tata hua vaka nei me te henua.* LV2 85:20
 PFV approach that canoe here with DEF land
 'This canoe approached land.'

There were very few examples of the particle à in the corpus.

- (5.100) *Ē aha à?* LV2 17:25
 INDEF what INT
 'What is (he) then?'
 (5.101) *Ò ia anaiho à taù i kite.*
 FOC he only INT mine past know
 'He is the only one indeed that I know.'

5.11 *boi* 'indeed' and *oti* 'perhaps'

- (5.102) *Na Rosita hoi e nunu te kaikai ènana oioi.*
 POSS Rosita indeed NP cook DEF food person tomorrow
 'Indeed, Rosita will cook some Marquesan food tomorrow.'
 (5.103) *Na te tumu hāmani oti i peāu.*
 POSS DEF teacher perhaps past say
 'Perhaps the teacher said (so).'

6 *Prepositions*

The only particles which were not described in Chapters 4 and 5 were the case markers (prepositions) and the postposed particle *ai*. The former are the subject of this chapter, and the latter of Chapter 7. Each of them relates the phrase as a whole to other parts of the sentence or discourse and as such are, in Martinet's terms, centrifugal particles.¹

This chapter starts with a very brief outline of the syntax of simple verbal sentences before moving on to discuss the prepositions and the noun phrase functions that they mark.

6.1 Simple sentences

In this study, noun phrase functions² are particular types of relationships between phrases within simple verbal declarative sentences. A sentence of this type consists of a verbal phrase and at least one nominal phrase. The relationship of each nominal phrase to the verbal phrase and/or to another nominal phrase is marked by a preposition or the absence of a preposition. With one exception (see §6.2.9) no more than one preposition may occur in a phrase.

There are three main types of simple verbal declarative sentence, each one being defined by the nature of the nucleus of the verbal phrase. The nucleus of an active verbal sentence is an active verbal base; the nucleus of a passive sentence is a passivised verbal base; the nucleus of a stative sentence is a stative verbal base. It is necessary to distinguish these sentence types for two reasons: (a) the compatibility of prepositions with sentence types and (b) the functions of prepositions vary for each one.

6.2 Noun phrase function markers

The initial position of an NP in Ūa Pou is occupied by a group of particles usually referred to as the prepositions. They are \emptyset (zero marker), *ò*, *i*, *ì*, *iō*, *mei*, *me*, *e*, *na*, *no*, *a*, *o*, *ma* and *è*. Each of the prepositions indicates the function of the NP with respect to, in most cases, the VP in the sentence or clause. Syntactically and semantically the fourteen

¹ As opposed to centripetal particles which modify the nucleus of the phrase.

² Bauer (1993, 1997) has extensive sections on noun phrase functions for Māori, although in her 1997 work she also has a separate, overlapping and complementary chapter on prepositions. Most NP functions are indicated by prepositions in both Māori and Marquesan.

prepositions can be arranged into ten groups. Table 6.1 lists the prepositions and the noun phrase functions³ that they mark.

Table 6.1: The prepositions and the functions they mark

Preposition	Syntactic/semantic function
Ø	subject
ò	(focus particle)
<i>i</i>	direct object
<i>i</i>	cause/agent
<i>e</i>	agent
<i>ì</i>	location
<i>a</i>	dominant possession
<i>o</i>	subordinate possession
<i>na</i>	dominant attributive possession
<i>no</i>	subordinate attributive possession
<i>iō</i>	locative
<i>ma</i>	path
<i>mei</i>	source
<i>è</i>	vocative

6.2.1 Ø (zero marker) and ò 'subject'

Ø marks the syntactic function subject. The subject of an Ûa Pou sentence is that nominal phrase which is essential to sentence status, the phrase without which there is no predication.⁴ In a sentence in which the phrases are in the normal unmarked order of verbal phrase followed by the subject, the subject phrase has no preposition (is zero marked).⁵ The following three examples make it clear that the semantic relationship between the verbal phrase and its subject is not a constant. The essence of subjectivity is the fact that the subject is the *sine qua non* of the sentence.

- (6.1) Û tiòhi Ø hua ènana. LVD 27:15
 PFV look NOM that man
 'That man looked.'

³ Syntactic and semantic functions are described largely following Blake (1994) and Bauer (1997).

⁴ Often, particularly in narrative, the subject is not actually present in each sentence. However, it is always 'understood' and recoverable.

⁵ The definition of subject in Polynesian has provided problems which arise, at least in part, from the difference in case marking between so-called accusative languages and ergative languages of the family. Biggs (1974:403) discusses this with the definition 'the Nominative case is the case of the subject. It is unmarked in most languages, but marked by *à* in Tongan' and points out that for Eastern Polynesian languages 'the nominative phrase is actor and subject in an active sentence, and goal and subject in a passive sentence'. For Māori, Bauer (1981:320) tested Keenan's (1976) 19 subject properties and concluded that 'most of them do indeed hold for Ø marked NPs'. Chapin (1974:277) describes the Nominative of PPh as the 'unmarked determinant ...'

- (6.2) *Û ìò Ø te vehine i te kamo.* LVD 51:10
 PFV stolen NOM DEF woman STATAG DEF thief
 'The woman was stolen by the thief.'
- (6.3) *Û kamo-ia e Teuua Ø hua moi.* LVD 3:4
 PFV steal-PASS AG Teuua NOM that girl
 'That girl was stolen by Teuua.'

In the first example, the subject of the active verbal sentence has the semantic role of actor. In the second example, the subject of the stative verbal sentence (stative because *ìò* 'stolen' is a verbal base that cannot be passivised) is a patient. In the third example, the subject of the passive verbal sentence (passive because the verbal base *kamo* 'to steal' has been passivised by *ia*) is a patient.⁶

In each of these sentences the zero-marked NPs can be focused by bringing them to the front of the sentence and adding the preposition *ò* 'focus'.⁷

- (6.4) *Ò hua ènana ù tiòhi.*
 FOC that person PFV look
 'That man looked.'
- (6.5) *Ò te vehine ù ìò i te kamo.*
 FOC DEF woman PFV steal STATAG DEF thief
 'The woman was stolen by the thief.'
- (6.6) *Ò hua moi ù kamo -ia e Teuua.*
 FOC that girl PFV steal PASS AG Teuua
 'That girl was stolen by Teuua.'

6.2.2 i 'direct object'

One of the two roles of the preposition *i* is to mark the syntactic function of direct object in active sentences. It can be regarded as the 'second argument' to the verb, that is an NP which is obligatory but is not the subject. The subject can be regarded as the 'first argument', given that the direct object phrase immediately follows the subject in a sentence which is in the normal, unmarked order.

- (6.7) *Ûa hoki te kaikaia i te tuhia ènana.* LVD 5:2
 PFV smell DEF ogre DO DEF odour man
 'The ogre smelled the smell of man.'
- (6.8) *Û kanea te ènana i te vaka.*
 PFV build DEF person DO DEF canoe
 'The man built the canoe.'

⁶ Chapin (1974:277) states, in describing PPn Nominative, 'semantically, the Nominative is the direct or neutral determinant, the determinant without semantic characteristics of its own; the semantic function of the Nominative determinant in a given clause is established by the predicate of that clause'.

⁷ Compare Māori *ko* 'focus marking particle' (Biggs 1973:25), Hawaiian *o* 'subject marker' (Elbert & Pukui 1979:131).

- (6.9) *Ûa nunu Rosita i te kaikai.*
 PFV cook Rosita DO DEF food
 'Rosita cooked the food.'
- (6.10) *Ia òko tēnā mou kooua i -a koe ...* LVD 35:12
 when hear that DU old man DO PS you(SG)
 'When those old men heard you ...'

6.2.3 i 'cause/agent'

In a stative sentence, the phrase initiated by *i* indicates the cause or agent of the verb. Like the direct object in an active sentence, the cause or agent in a stative sentence can be regarded as the 'second argument' to the verb.⁸

- (6.11) *Û kamaï au i te ua.*
 PFV cold I STATAG DEF rain
 'I am cold because of the rain.'
- (6.12) *Û pohuè ia i te hāika.*
 PFV well he STATAG DEF medicine
 'He was made well by the medicine.'
- (6.13) *... e òd te vehine i -a Kae ...* LVD 57:18
 NP taken DEF woman STATAG PS Kae
 '... the woman would be taken by Kae ...'
- (6.14) *Û paòpaò au i -a koe.*
 PFV annoyed I STATAG PS you(SG)
 'I am annoyed with you.'

The cause or agent in a stative sentence can be emphasised by replacing *i* by *na*, the preposition which indicates dominant, attributive possession.⁹

- (6.15) *Û pohuè ia na te hāika.* (cf. example (6.12) above)
 PFV well he of DEF medicine
 'He is well because of the medicine.'

⁸ Biggs (1974:402) subsumes both functions of PPn **i* under the Direct Comment case which he defines as 'the case of the near goal (including the direct object) of regular verbs ... and the cause or agent of stative verbs ...'.

⁹ The notions of agency and dominant, attributive possession appear to be both grammatically and semantically related in Ûa Pou (and in most other Eastern Polynesian languages; Clark 1976:113). This is best demonstrated by the so-called actor emphatic construction (following Biggs 1973:73 for Māori) in which the 'actor' is expressed by a phrase in the dominant, attributive possession case as follows:

Na Piri te poti i kanea.
 of Ben DEF boat past build

'Ben built the boat.' (or: 'It was Ben who built the boat.')

The syntax of these types of sentences is a matter of some debate (see for example Clark 1976:119ff.; Chung 1978:175; Harlow 1986; and Bauer 1997:501ff.) but is beyond the scope of this study.

6.2.4 *e* ‘agent’

E occurs only in passive sentences and marks the actor or agent, which may be animate or inanimate.

- (6.16) *Û kamo -ia e Teuua hua moi ...* LVD 3:4
 PFV steal PASS AG Teuua that girl
 ‘That girl was stolen by Teuua ...’
- (6.17) *Û kanea -ia te poti e Piri.*
 PFV build PASS DEF boat AG Ben
 ‘The boat was built by Ben.’
- (6.18) *Û nunu -ia te kaikai e te kui.*
 PFV cook PASS DEF food AG DEF mother
 ‘The food was cooked by the mother.’
- (6.19) *Ûa uu -ia t- -ō au haè e te potu.*
 PFV enter PASS DEF of me house AG DEF cat
 ‘My house was entered by the cat.’
- (6.20) ... *ù hao -ia t- -ō ia kahu*
 PFV take.by.force PASS DEF of her clothes
e te tai. LVD 27:9
 AG DEF sea
 ‘... her clothes were torn from her by the sea.’

Like the stative agent, the passive agent can be emphasised by replacing *e* by the preposition which marks dominant attributive possession, *na*.

- (6.21) *Û keàhi -ia na t- -ō mātou tuakana: ...* LVD 35:3
 PFV kick PASS of DEF of us(PL.EXC) older.sister
 ‘... (she) was kicked by our older sister: ...’

6.2.5 *ì* and *iō* ‘location’

Both *ì* and *iō* mark location, although there are both distributional and semantic differences between the two.

ì indicates the location in time or space of the action or state and translates variously as ‘at, to, on’.¹⁰

Location in space:

- (6.22) ... *à hua kōtou ì t- -ō kōtou henua!* LVD 9:6
 IMP return you(PL) LOC DEF of 2PL land
 ‘... return to your land!’
- (6.23) ... *à pī ì èià ...* LVD 9:7
 IMP stay LOC there
 ‘... stay there ...’

¹⁰ *ì* is the reflex of PPn **ki* which Biggs (1974) allocated to the Indirect Comment case.

- (6.24) *Ûa tuku au i tuu hāmani ì -a koe.*
 PFV give I DO my book LOC PS you(SG)
 'I gave the book to you.'

- (6.25) *Ûa tihe au ì Aotearoa.*
 PFV arrive I LOC Aotearoa
 'I have arrived in Aotearoa.'

Location in time:

- (6.26) *Ì tūahi ā ùa hee te motua.* LVD 9:15
 LOC one day PFV go DEF father
 'One day the father went.'
- (6.27) *Ì te ahiahi ùa hua ātou.*
 LOC DEF evening PFV return they(PL)
 'In the evening, they returned.'

Iō on the other hand indicates only location in space and translates variously as 'to, in, into, on, beside, near, at or to the home, of'.¹¹

- (6.28) *Pehea koe? Iō koe hoì ...* LV2 97:2
 how you(SG) LOC you(SG) indeed
 'Where are you going? To your place ...'
- (6.29) *... ùa topa iō he vai hohonu ...* LVD 35:4
 PFV fall LOC INDEF water deep
 '... (she) fell into a deep river ...'
- (6.30) *Ûa kite i te vehine e moe ana iō he ana.* LVD 7:7
 PFV see DO DEF woman NP sleep CONT LOC INDEF cave
 '(He) saw the woman who was sleeping in the cave.'

Iō can occur with the prepositions *ma*, *mei* and *me* (but *ì* cannot).

- (6.31) *Ûa ēa te veinehae ma iō te àuàù*
 PFV surface DEF spirit.woman path LOC DEF front
o te vaka. LVD 35:4
 of DEF cano
 'The spirit woman surfaced at the front of the canoe.'
- (6.32) *Ûa rere me iō he vaka.* LVD 13:7
 PFV flee com LOC INDEF canoe
 '(He) fled in a canoe.'
- (6.33) *Ûa hiti Taheta mei iō he tai.* LV2 41:16
 PFV climb Taheta from LOC INDEF sea
 'Taheta climbed out of the sea.'

¹¹ Cognates of *iō* occur in Tahitian and Hawaiian. Copenrath and Prévost (1974:299) note that the preposition *o* can be used as a locative to mean 'at someone's place (chez)'. When used like this it occurs with the preposition *i* forming *io*. For Hawaiian, Elbert and Pukui (1979:34) list *io* as a definite locative while Hawkins (1982:57) notes that *io* replaces *ia* in some instances with personal names and pronouns. The difference seems to be between going to a person *ia* and going to the location of that person *io*'.

Although some of the distributional and semantic differences between *ì* and *iō* are clear, as illustrated in the above examples, others are not as clear. Consider, for example, the two responses to the following question:

- (6.34) *E hee mātou ì hea?*
 NP go we(PL.EXC) LOC where
 'Where are we going?'

E hua koe iō t- -ō koe haè.
 NP return you(SG) LOC DEF of you(SG) house
 'You will return to your home.'

E hua kōtou ì t- -ō kōtou henua.
 NP return you(PL) LOC DEF of you(PL) land
 'You will return to your land.'

Neither of these prepositions could substitute for each other in these examples, because, my informants said, it would not make sense. Yet in other examples they could substitute for each other:

- (6.35) *Ūa kite au i -a Jean ì t- -ō au*
 PFV see I DO PS Jean LOC DEF of I

tihe -ia ì te haè.
 iō
 arrive DN LOC DEF house
 'I saw John when I arrived at the house.'

My informants agreed that the two prepositions expressed the same basic sense of indicating the place that the person or people were going to. However, the exact semantic differences between them are not clear to me. Certainly further research with informants is required to describe the differences between the two more adequately.

6.2.6 *a, o and na, no 'possession'*

Possession is essentially different from the other functions in that it marks a relationship between two noun phrases as opposed to that between the verbal phrase and a noun phrase. Its markers are the prepositions *a*, *o*, *na*, and *no*. *A* and *o* are possessive prepositions which translate as 'of' while *na* and *no* are attributive, possessive prepositions which translate either as 'belong to, of' or 'for'. There are two contrastive types of possession. The first can be described in very broad terms as possession in which the possessor is dominant, active, superior, or in control of the possessed. *A* and *na* mark this type of possession. *O* and *no* on the other hand indicate possession where the possessor is subordinate, passive, inferior to, or lacking control over the possessed.

- (6.36) *Ūa tihe mai te vahana a tenei tau vehine.*
 PFV arrive hither DEF husband of this PL woman
 'The husband of these women has arrived.'

- (6.37) *Ûa hee te vehine a te hakaiki.*
 PFV go DEF woman of DEF chief
 'The wife of the chief went.'
- (6.38) *Ia kave hua ènana i te kai a te puaka ... LVD 27:10*
 when carry that person DO DEF food of DEF pig
 'When that man took the pig's food ...'
- (6.39) *Û pohuè te puaka a te tama a Kae.*
 PFV alive DEF pig of DEF son of Kae
 'Kae's son's pig is alive.'
- (6.40) *Tihe i te tumu o te opata ... LVD 7:4*
 arrive LOC DEF base of DEF cliff
 '(They) reached the base of the cliff ...'
- (6.41) *Ûa tau ma ùka o te haè. LVD 53:5*
 PFV land path top of DEF house
 '(It) landed on top of the house.'
- (6.42) *À peàu mai te ikoa o te henua.*
 IMP say hither DEF name of DEF land
 'Tell me the name of the land.'
- (6.43) *Û hua te motua o te vahana.*
 PFV return DEF father of DEF husband
 'The husband's father returned.'

Na indicates dominant attributive possession.

- (6.44) ... *ùa iò i -a Tainaivao, è tama*
 PFV taken STATAG PS Tainaivao INDEF son
na Pekapeka ... LVD 51:16
 of Pekapeka
 '... (she) was taken by Tainaivao, a son of Pekapeka ...'
- (6.45) *E iò koe he mea vehine na ia.*
 NP take you(SG) INDEF thing woman of him
 'You will get a wife for him.'
- (6.46) *À too tēnei potu na koe.*
 IMP take this cat for you(SG)
 'Take this cat for yourself.'

No indicates subordinate attributive possession.

- (6.47) *À too tēnei vaka no koe.*
 IMP take this canoe for you(SG)
 'Take this canoe for yourself.'
- (6.48) *Û kave mai koe i tēnā kahu no ia.*
 PFV bring hither you(SG) DO that dress for her
 'You have brought that dress for her (to wear).'

- (6.49) *N_o ai tēnei hāmani i patu -ia?*
 of who this book past write PASS
 'Who is this book written about?'
- (6.50) *Ûa pao te tekao n_o Taheta.* LV2 93:31
 PFV finish DEF talk of Taheta
 'The story about Taheta is finished.'

6.2.7 *ma* 'path'

Ma indicates the way or means by which the action was carried out, in terms of either space or time.

- (6.51) *M_a te pō, ùa hee hua mou ènana ...* LVD 101:9
 path DEF night PFV go that DU man
 'Those two men came by night ...'
- (6.52) *Ûa tekao ia m_a te èo Tahiti.*
 PFV speak he path DEF language Tahiti
 'He spoke in the Tahitian language.'
- (6.53) *Ûa tihe te vaka m_a tai.* LV2 51:29
 PFV arrive DEF canoe path coast
 'The canoe arrive by the coast.'

With a part of the body, *ma* indicates the goal of the action.

- (6.54) *Ûa hiti te tai tihe m_a he kōpū.* LV2 37:25
 PFV climb DEF sea arrive goal INDEF belly
 'The sea reached (her) belly.'
- (6.55) *Û kokoti m_a te ihu ...* LV2 141:21
 PFV cut goal DEF nose
 'He cut (himself) on the nose ...'
- (6.56) *I mau -ia ai e Vakauhi m_a na vaevae.* LV2 195:11
 past catch PASS APH AG Vakauhi goal DP.DEF foot
 'Vakauhi caught (them) by the legs.'

6.2.8 *me* 'comitative'

Me marks the semantic function labelled comitative and typically indicates the person or entity in whose company the action or event takes place.

- (6.57) *Û tihe ia ì te vāhi m_e te ana.*
 PFV arrive he LOC DEF place with DEF cave
 'He arrived at the place with the cave.'
- (6.58) *E hee māua m_e te motua.*
 IMP go we(DU.EXC) with DEF father
 'We will go with (his) father.'

- (6.59) *I tā -ia ai e hua mahai*
 past hit PASS APH AG that youth
ma te niho me te âkau. LVD 5:9
 goal DEF teeth with DEF stick
 ‘(It) was hit by that youth across the teeth with a stick.’

6.2.9 *mei* ‘source’

Mei marks the source of the action or state. It translates as ‘from’.¹²

- (6.60) *Ûa hiti mei àò iō tāua* LVD 7:14
 PFV climb from below LOC us(DU.INC)
 ‘(He) climbed from below to where we were staying.’
- (6.61) *Ûa noho hua mahai mei tēâ popouî tihe ma*
 PFV stay that youth from that morning until path
te oioî. LVD 33:16
 DEF next.day
 ‘The young man stayed from that morning until the next day.’

Mei can occur with the preposition *iō*.

- (6.62) *Mei iō te tai hohonu tēnei tau ika.*
 from LOC DEF sea deep this PL fish
 ‘These fish are from the deep sea.’

6.2.10 *è* ‘vocative’

È indicates the person or entity being addressed.

- (6.63) *Èia tuu tekao ì -a ôtou, è tuu mataèinaa.* LV2 7:8
 this my talk LOC PS 2PL VOC my people
 ‘This is what I have to say to you, my people.’

The vocative case marker can follow the addressee:

- (6.64) *Ia hano koe e taa koe: “Taheta è!”* LV2 37:21
 when go you(SG) IMP call you(SG) Taheta VOC
 ‘When you go you will call out, “Taheta!”’
- (6.65) *Ûa taa hakaûa na pakahio: “È Vakauhi è!”*
 PFV call again DP.DEF old.woman VOC Vakauhi VOC
 ‘The old women called: “Vakauhi!”’

¹² The cognates of *mei* appear to be the directional particle *mai* in Tahitian, Hawaiian and Māori. For Tahitian, Copenrath and Prévost (1974:36) note that *mai* has various functions, one of which is a preposition which marks the origin of a movement or event. Similarly, Hawkins (1982:54) for Hawaiian lists *mai* as a preposition which marks source. It is also used in this manner in Māori.

7 *ai*

In this chapter I will consider the particle *ai*. It occurs only in the postposed periphery of VPs and, in Martinet's terms, is centrifugal in at least one of its functions since it relates the verb phrase to other phrases. The description of this particle requires reference to both simple and complex sentence structures; thus the chapter begins with a brief outline of the structure of complex sentences before moving on to describe the distribution and functions of *ai*.

While the particle *ai*, like the prepositions, can mark a relationship between different phrases in the same simple verbal sentence, it can also mark a relationship between phrases in different simple sentences, as well as phrases in different clauses of a complex sentence. The structure of simple verbal sentences was outlined in Chapter 6. Complex sentences, in this study, are considered to be combinations of two or more simple sentences. A complex sentence is derived from the simple sentences after certain changes or transformations have been performed on the simple sentences. These simple sentences from which the complex sentence is derived are referred to as the underlying simple sentences.

Of the complex sentence structures, relative clauses are of particular relevance to *ai*. Almost all the examples of *ai* in complex sentences in my corpus involved cases of *ai* in a relative clause, the exception being locative *ai*. A relative clause in the Ūa Pou dialect occurs immediately after the NP to which it is relating (the head of the relativisation), and the phrase in the simple sentence underlying the relative clause which is coreferential to the head is deleted. Frequently, but not always, *nei* occurs in the VP of a relative clause, although where the deleted NP is either locative or an instrument, *ai* may replace it.

The following examples illustrate *ai* occurring in both simple and complex sentences.

- (7.1) *I taki hakaàa ai te moa.* LVD 21:15
 past cry again APH¹ DEF cock
 'And the cock crowed again.'
- (7.2) *À tahi nei à rere ai iō he tai.* LVD 29:20
 IN one now IN flee APH LOC INDEF sea
 'And so she fled into the sea.'

¹ Where I have glossed *ai* 'anaphoric' it indicates that *ai* is referring back to either a deleted or moved phrase or clause, or to a phrase, phrases or clauses given earlier in the discourse. For example, in (7.1) and (7.2), *ai* refers back to a previous sentence or sentences in the discourse.

- (7.3) *No he paehava e avai ai.* LV2 121:21
 of INDEF platform.at.front.of.house NP leave APH
 'Leave it on the platform at the front of the house.'
- (7.4) *Ìa pao t- -ā âtou hana, i heke*
 when finish DEF of they(PL) work past descend
iho ai âtou ì tai.
 after APH they(PL) LOC sea
 'As soon as they finished their work, they went down to the sea.'
- (7.5) *Oia nei te toki e kokoti ai au i te âkau.*
 this here DEF axe NP cut APH I DO DEF tree
 'This is the axe with which I cut the tree.'

Within the phrase *ai* is incompatible not only with the particles which occur in the same position, namely *ana* ~ *aa*, *nei* and *à*, but also with the verbal particle *ù* ~ *ùa*.

ai has at least two distinct functions. The first is a grammatical function where the presence of *ai* is obligatory. This function is anaphoric in that the particle refers back to a phrase, clause or clauses given earlier in the discourse. In a simple sentence it is essentially substituting for an NP which has been moved to the beginning of the sentence; in a complex sentence, it is substituting for a deleted NP. We will see in the following discussion that, in both simple and complex sentences, *ai* substitutes only for NPs with certain functions, namely location, cause and instrument.² It is this function of *ai* that is centrifugal since it relates the verb phrase as a whole to other parts of the discourse.

The second function of *ai* is optional and contributes new meaning to the sentence. It is not just anaphoric and can be considered to be lexical. Its meaning depends on the tense of the VP. In a future VP it indicates a sureness or certainty that the action or state will occur. In a past NP it implies a previously given cause or reason and can be translated 'therefore, and so'. We will see in the following sections that the distinction between lexical and anaphoric *ai* is not always clear and that there is probably an overlap between the two functions. However, the distinguishing criterion used here is whether the particle was obligatory or not in any example.

In the following sections I will consider these two functions of *ai*. In discussing anaphoric *ai* I will first mention Paul Chapin's article on Proto Polynesian **ai* before going on to consider Ûa Pou *ai*

7.1 Chapin on Proto Polynesian **ai*

The particle *ai* is found in all Polynesian languages and has caused many problems for linguists attempting to describe it. However Chapin's 1974 article 'Proto-Polynesian **ai*' addresses the problem of describing the functions of this particle for nineteen Polynesian

² For Nuku Hiva, Zewen (1987:121–123) describes *ai* as an anaphoric particle giving examples which illustrate only a grammatical use of the particle (with one or two possible exceptions in his 'cause' examples). He gives examples of the particle as an anaphor for phrases expressing place, time, personal names (for which he says *ai* is equivalent to a relative pronoun or the neutral (French) pronoun *en*), cause, reason, manner, instrument and consequence. From his examples it would appear that Nuku Hiva *ai* is very similar if not identical to Ûa Pou *ai*.

languages in order to present an hypothesis for the syntax of **ai* in Proto Polynesian. He concludes that

PPN had a single anaphoric particle **ai* and possibly one or more non-anaphoric particles with the same form, which may or may not have been related to it. Anaphoric **ai* was not lexical but grammatical: generally speaking, it was a substitute for a noun phrase which was in an oblique case (or an adverbial prepositional phrase, if the distinction is to be drawn)³ and which was identical to and coreferential with some other noun phrase in the same sentence or a preceding sentence. The noun phrase repetition could arise either in the ordinary way or as a result of transformational copying rules. The cases where **ai* did not arise by actual substitution were those cases, as yet poorly understood in general linguistic theory, akin to the use of so-called 'lexical' pronouns and pronominal demonstratives in other languages, where the anaphoric reference is not to some specifically identifiable noun phrase but to conceptual elements of the discourse as a whole, or to elements present in the real world context of the discourse and perceived by both speaker and addressee. (Chapin 1974:259–260)

These general conclusions for the anaphoric particle can be applied to Ûa Pou *ai* with certain adaptations. In Ûa Pou, it can only substitute for noun phrases in certain (not all) oblique cases. Also, its most frequent use, which Chapin (above) considers to be poorly understood from a theoretical viewpoint, is in narrative discourse to refer to the conceptual elements of the discourse. I consider this use of *ai* to be lexical rather than grammatical, even though it is still anaphoric, since instances of this *ai* can be deleted and still leave a grammatical sentence. While Chapin's paper did not necessarily solve all the problems associated with the description of this particle, it certainly clarified a great many of them and provided, at the very least, a sound methodological approach to the description of **ai*. So, in describing the functions of *ai* in Ûa Pou in the following sections, my approach will follow Chapin's. The chapter concludes with some brief comments on the conclusions Chapin reaches for Marquesan *ai*.

Several hundred examples of *ai* were taken from both the textual material and my informants. Nowhere in these examples did *ai* substitute for subject, object, passive agent, path, source or vocative NPs nor for possessive NPs with the exception of *na* 'dominant, attributive possession'.

7.2 Anaphoric *ai*

In the following sections on anaphoric *ai*, I will consider each type of NP it substitutes for in turn. For each example I will indicate the antecedent by underlining it (*ai* also is underlined.) In the first several examples of complex sentences I will give the underlying simple sentences (marked by *) from which the complex sentence is derived in order to illustrate the nature of underlying sentences.

³ The list of cases provided by Chapin do not correspond exactly with the functions I have listed for Ûa Pou in that, for example, Chapin's Locative, Temporal and Goal cases are all part of my location function. However, Chapin makes no attempt to define the cases (or determinant types as he calls them) that he uses and it is not always clear from the examples exactly what each case covers. They do not appear to be based on the form of the marker and the only hint he gives is that they are 'the various grammatical/semantic functions' (Chapin 1974:260).

7.2.1 ai marking a location NP

In a simple sentence *ai* can mark a fronted location NP which indicates location in either space (example (7.6)) or time (examples (7.7)–(7.9)).

- (7.6) *l̥ hea ia e hee ai?*
 LOC here he NP go APH
 'Where will he go?'
- (7.7) *l̥na koe e peàu ai.*
 at.that.time you(SG) NP speak APH
 'At that time you will talk.'
- (7.8) *l̥ te â o koe e tihe mai ai e tekao koe.*
 LOC DEF day of you(SG) NP arrive hither APH NP speak you(SG)
 'On the day you arrive, you will speak.'
- (7.9) *Te ehua 1973 i mate ai ia.*
 DEF year 1973 past die APH he
 'In the year 1973, he died.'

However, in the following example, even though there is a fronted time phrase, *ai* is not obligatory.

- (7.10) *Ahea mâtou e tihe mai ai?*
 when? we(PLEX) NP arrive hither certain
 'When (exactly) will we arrive?'

Here, *ai* adds a meaning of 'preciseness of time' to the question and is an example of the lexical rather than the grammatical use of *ai*. I have included it here simply to illustrate a possible area of overlap between the two functions of *ai*. Example (7.10) requires an answer such as

- (7.11) *Oioi, a te toù hora.*
 tomorrow LOC DEF three hour
 'Tomorrow, at three o'clock.'

A response such as

- (7.12) *A te toù hora oti.*
 LOC DEF three hour perhaps
 'At three o'clock maybe.'

is appropriate only for the question posed without *ai*. It is interesting to note that *ai* cannot be used in a question beginning *inehea* 'when? (past)'.

In complex sentences *ai* can substitute for location phrases in relative clauses as in:

- (7.13) *Te vāhi e hipeù ai te vai, i mua o te poti.*
 DEF place NP ripple APH DEF water LOC front POSS DEF boat
 'The (only) place where the water is rippling is in front of the boat.'

The underlying simple sentences are

* *E hipeù ana te vai i te vāhi.*

and * *l̥ mua i te poti te vāhi.*

- (7.14) *E tiòhi ana âtou ì te vāhi e heke ai te toiki.*
 NP look CONT they(PL) LOC DEF place NP descend APH DEF child
 'They are looking at the place that the child will come down.'

The underlying simple sentences are

* *E tiòhi ana âtou ì te vāhi.*

and * *E heke te toiki ì te vāhi.*

- (7.15) *Ò Mokoia te henua i kau atu ai Hinemoa*
 FOC M DEF land past swim thither APH Hinemoa
mei Rotorua.
 from Rotorua
 'Mokoia is the place Hinemoa swam to from Rotorua.'

The underlying simple sentences are

* *Ò Mokoia te henua.*

and * *I kau atu Hinemoa mei Rotorua ì te henua (ò Mokoia).*

The antecedent of *ai* in each of these is the head of the relative clause and indicates location in space. In my corpus there were no examples of *ai* marking a location in time NP in a relative clause and I was unable to elicit examples from my informants.

Ai can be replaced in these examples by either *nei* or *aa ~ ana*.

The following examples illustrate *ai* substituting for a deleted location NP (which, again, indicates location in space) in a complex sentence construction which is also common in other Eastern Polynesian languages. These locative NP cases were the only examples in my corpus of *ai* in complex sentences other than relative clauses.

- (7.16) *À hee mai iō te haè, e noho ai!*
 IMP go hither LOC DEF house NP stay APH
 'Come into the house and stay here!'

The underlying simple sentences are

* *À hee mai iō te haè.*

and * *À noho iō te haè.*

- (7.17) *À hee mai iō te haè, haka- avai ai me au!*
 IMP go hither LOC DEF house CAUS meet APH with me
 'Come into the house and meet with me there!'

The underlying sentences are

* *À hee mai iō te haè.*

and * *À hakāvei me au iō te haè.*

In these types of sentences, not only does *ai* substitute for a location phrase but the verbal particle *e* or *Ø* substitutes for *à*.⁴

⁴ Chapin (1974:262, example 11) refers to a sentence of this type in the following Rarotongan example as an infinitive complement:

In the following two examples, *ai* refers to the whole preceding clause and substitutes for a phrase such as *i tēā hora* ‘at that time’.

- (7.18) *E kanea nei te tau vehine i te kaikai,*
 NP build now DEF PL woman DO DEF food
i tihe mai ai te ihepe.
 past arrive hither APH DEF ship
 ‘While the women were preparing the food, the ship arrived.’
- (7.19) *Ia pao t- -ā âtou hana, i heke iho ai*
 when finish DEF of they(PL) work NP descend soon APH
âtou i tai.
 they(PL) LOC sea
 ‘When they finished work, they went down immediately to the sea.’

7.2.2 *ai* marking a causal NP

In a simple sentence *ai* can mark an emphasised cause or stative agent NP (marked by *na* – see §6.2.6) which has been fronted.

- (7.20) *Na te hāika i pouhē ai au.*
 of DEF medicine past live APH I
 ‘I am well because of the medicine.’
- (7.21) *Na koe i paōpaō ai au.*⁵
 of you(SG) past annoyed APH I
 ‘I am annoyed because of you.’

Ka āere au ki te kāinga, kaikai ei.
 ‘I’m going to go home and have a meal there.’

The same use of *ai* occurs in Māori as in:

Ka haere rātou ki te kāinga, kai ai.
 ‘They went home and ate there.’

where the second clause is derived from:

ka kai rātou i te kāinga
 ‘they ate at home’

The structure is not an infinitival complement, which is expressed in Ūa Pou by *i te* and Māori by *ki te*, but rather a deletion of the repeated Nominative and Locative NPs, with *ai* substituting for the Locative NP.

⁵ Example (7.21) also illustrates that the Ūa Pou dialect, at least, allows *ai* to substitute for second person. Chapin (1974:280) listed Marquesan as a language which did not allow this. However I did not test the rest of his hypothesis, that it does not allow *ai* to substitute for first person, but there were several counterexamples in the corpus for his observation that Marquesan does not seem (from the textual material he had) to allow *ai* to substitute for humans. For example:

Na toū motua i kanea -ia ai tēnei haè.
 of my father past build PASS APH this house
 ‘Because of (or, thanks to) my father, this house was built.’

- (7.22) *Na te heke o te tai, i ēa ai te ākau.*
 of DEF descend of DEF sea past emerge APH DEF reef
 'Because the tide dropped, the reef emerged.'

Examples of *ai* substituting for a causal NP in complex sentences occurred most frequently in the narrative material, where *ai* marked the cause of a situation, which is usually expressed by the dominant attributive possession marker *na*. Most frequently, its antecedent was a clause preceding it which set the context for the action or state described by the base which *ai* accompanies. In other words, the clause containing *ai* was, in some way, the result or consequence of the situation described by a preceding clause as illustrated in the following examples:

- (7.23) *Na te mea ua mate t- -ō ia kui,*
 of DEF thing PFV die DEF of him mother
i hee mai ai ia i nei.
 past go hither APH he LOC here
 'Because his mother had died, he came here.'
- (7.24) *Ē aha te tumu i tuku mai ai ia*
 INDEF what DEF reason past send hither APH he
i tēnā mea i -a au?
 DO that thing LOC PS me
 'Why did he give me this thing?'

The clause containing the reason, however, can follow the clause containing *ai*:

- (7.25) *Hano ai koe i te ika na te mea*
 go.and.get APH you(SG) DO DEF fish of DEF thing
ē kaikai t- -ā tātou.
 INDEF feast DEF of we(PL.INC)
 'Go and get some fish because we are having a feast.'

7.2.3 *ai* marking a instrument NP

There were very few examples of *ai* substituting for an instrument NP in my corpus. None occurred in simple sentences and the ones that did occur marked only an instrument.

- (7.26) *Oia te taa i puta ai tuu vaevae.*
 this DEF spear past stab APH my foot
 'This is the spear with which I stabbed my foot.'
- (7.27) *Oia nei te toki e kokoti ai au i te ākau.*
 this here DEF axe NP cut APH I DO DEF tree
 'This is the axe with which I will cut the tree.'

In both these examples, the antecedent of *ai* is the head of the relative clause it occurs in.

7.2.4 Conclusions on anaphoric ai

To summarise then, in a simple sentence anaphoric *ai* will mark either a fronted location NP or a fronted cause or stative agent. In relative clauses it marks location in space or instrument NPs only, and its antecedent is always the head of the relative clause. Nowhere in my corpus did *ai* substitute for subject, object, passive agent, path, source or vocative NPs nor for possessive NPs with the exception of *na* 'dominant, attributive possession'.

7.3 Lexical ai

As already mentioned above, when *ai* is functioning lexically, it is optional and its meaning depends on the tense of the VP. In a future-marked VP it indicates that the action is sure, possible and likely to occur at a precise moment in time and there is no reference to an antecedent.

- (7.28) *Ma hope o te hana e hee ai koe i te keu.*
 path behind of DEF work NP go certain you(SG) LOC DEF play
 'After work you can certainly go and play.'

- (7.29) *Ma mua o te ā tapu i mua nei,*
 LOC before of DEF day sacred LOC front now
e hua atu ai au i Te Henua Ēnana.
 NP return thither certain I LOC DEF land person
 'I will certainly be returning to the Marquesas Islands before next Sunday.'

- (7.30) *E pao ai te haè ia koi t- -ā koe hana.*
 NP finish sure DEF house when fast DEF of you(SG) work
 'The house can be finished if (and when) you work fast.'

In a past-marked VP lexical *ai* implies a previously given reason or cause and can be translated 'therefore, and so'. With this meaning an antecedent is implied but it will be an entire preceding clause or several clauses which in effect set the context for the clause in which *ai* occurs. It is this use of *ai* that occurs most frequently in narrative texts and is illustrated by the following passage:

- (7.31) *Tō ātou tupuna kakiu oia hoi è hakatepeiù no Nāiki. I noho ai tenei hakatepeiù me titahi haoè, oia hoi ò William Lawson, no te henua Peketāne mai ia, i noho ai ia me tenei hakatepeiù. Hānau mai ai tā ia è ua mou pāhoè, ò Colette me Rochelle.*

From their ancient ancestors, she was a princess from Naiki. And so this princess married a European. He was William Lawson, and he was from England. So, he married this princess. And she had two girls, Colette and Rochelle.

In this example (7.34), my informants explained to me, each instance of *ai* points out a 'result'. So, for the first instance, *I noho ai tenei hakatepeiù me titahi haoè* 'and so this princess married a European', was the result of the fact that she was a woman of chiefly birth, which we are told in the preceding sentence. The converse applies for the second instance *i noho ai ia me tenei hakatepeiù* 'so he married this princess'. The man was a European, English, in fact, we are told in the preceding sentence, and for that reason, he

married this woman of chiefly birth. The third instance, *Hānau mai ai tā ia è ùa mou pāhoè* ‘she had two girls’, is the result of the marriage.

In each of these sentences *ai* can be left out with the corresponding loss of meaning. However, where the verbal particle is *i*, it becomes *ù ~ ùa* once *ai* is dropped. This use of lexical *ai* is closely related semantically (at least) to the cause anaphor of grammatical *ai*.

7.4 Chapin on Marquesan *ai*

Chapin’s conclusions for Marquesan *ai* are that it functions as Causal and possibly Goal and Accusative determinants (or case-marked NPs). Non-anaphorically, he says, it occurs in the idiom *è aha ai* ‘why’ and possibly Existential ‘there is, there are’. He also says it can only have abstract antecedents.

Even allowing for the different case allocations, these conclusions Chapin has drawn are quite different from mine. Two possible explanations are that there is either a major difference between the dialects, or (perhaps/and) his database is inadequate. Chapin’s data is taken from a different dialect area from mine. His database was Handy’s *Marquesan legends* which are stories collected from Hiva Òa in the south-eastern dialect region. However, my informants felt they were sufficiently conversant with the south-eastern dialect to make some comments.⁶ They felt that *Marquesan legends* was, in parts at least, a very inaccurate recording of the language and found some of Chapin’s examples difficult to interpret. With other examples their interpretation implied a different case role for *ai* than Chapin had deduced. In Chapin’s example (60), my informants interpreted the clause

e aha òe i te vivo ai

as a reason clause translated by ‘why did you think (that)’. Chapin’s (and Handy’s) interpretation of *e aha* as accusative with a translation ‘what did you think’ is only possible in the Ûa Pou dialect if *ai* is deleted.

Related to this is Chapin’s claim that *e aha ai* ‘why’ is an idiom. In the Ûa Pou dialect it is understood to be derived from

- (7.32) *E aha te tumu i mea ai?*
 INDEF what? DEF reason past thing APH
 ‘Why was it “done”?’

where *mea* is a substitute base (for any base) and *te tumu* is a fronted causal NP. Thus *ai* in both (Chapin’s) (60) and *e aha ai* are interpreted as causal in the Ûa Pou dialect.

Example (135) in Chapin is:

Tekao pe ai ma una no oe, tuu vehine?
 Was there an evil word said about you, my wife?

and is included as a possible example of existential *ai*. The interpretation of this example depended on the context which would give a fair indication of what the deleted verbal particle was. Reference to the source of the example indicated that the particle would have been *i* and hence *ai* would be interpreted as indicating a previously given reason or cause.

⁶ In particular, Rosita’s grandmother was from Hiva Òa and she visited there regularly.

Chapin's goal and causal examples were correctly interpreted according to my informants although they had some difficulty making sense of his example (44):

Te vahi tihe ai mata mua kanea titahi ahi kei.

However, very little can be concluded here from these differences of opinion without recourse to a Hiva Òa speaker. Certainly the implied difference between the two dialects needs further investigation.

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